THE SURVEY

FALL BOOKS NOVEMBER 1951

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS (inc. 1930), directed by Paul Popenoe. Public education, personal service, research. Write for list of publications. 5287 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 27, Calif.

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THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, Campbell B. Beard, Executive Secretary, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

THE OSBORNE ASSOCIATION, INC., 114 East 30th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone MUrrayhill 5-9720-9721. Activities:—Collects information about correctional institutions and works to improve correctional methods and standards. Aids released prisoners in their problems of readjustment by securing employment and giving such other assistance as they may require. Austin H. MacCormick, Exec. Dir.; Robt. R. Hannum, Dir. of Vocational Placement.

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The Survey

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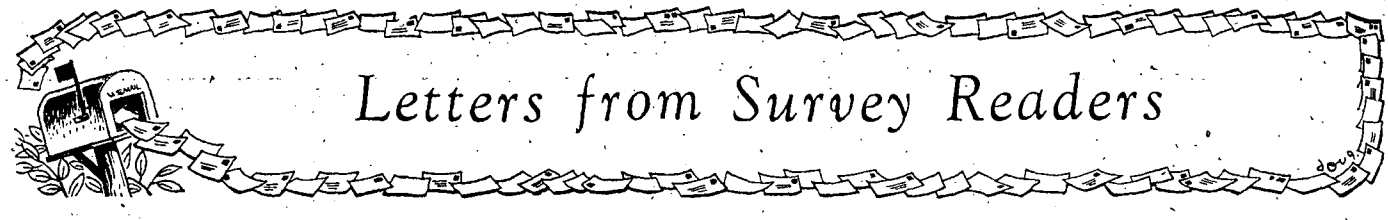

Letters from Survey Readers

The Unions Again

To the Editor: I have before me Mr. Francis A. Touchet's comment to the Editor on the social work unions and John Fitch's article in the May *Survey*. I read, certainly with interest and with astonishment, Mr. Touchet's amazingly naïve or perhaps tongue-in-cheek statement that the "outfit" or "union" (he seems undecided) known as the Community and Social Agency Employes has come about only because of "change in the national atmosphere."

No one can deny the progress made by the SSEU on labor-management relations, nor the gains made in development of standards, nor can anyone who has been in social work for the life of the SSEU deny that the impact of the war and developments in community organization and lay-professional relations have also contributed considerably to the general growth of social work as a profession with philosophical as well as economic standards.

However, as one who has been a member of SSEU from its earlier days and also as one who has experienced the gamut of communist propaganda and fascist methods in an SSEU "trial," only later to join the CSAE, I wish to take sharp—very sharp—exception to Mr. Touchet's statement that the CSAE is a management-favored group. The rest of his statement concerning red-baiting is hardly worth answering.

I am no longer in New York City and am tied to labor unions only through my present work with them. Mr. Touchet's letter brought back with terrible and deeply disturbing clarity my last days in SSEU and the clean, fresh feeling of rebirth in the formation of the CSAE.

Mr. Touchet might do well to examine the facts without prejudice and temper, nay, even allow himself the experience of CSAE membership. Perhaps he might, in passing, gain some understanding of the heritage of our democracy and the true meaning of the "change in the national atmosphere."

Utica, New York Ruth Solomon

Germany's "Need"

To the Editor: In the October *Survey* Hans Illing brings out the well-worn excuse for Germany's following Hitler into what Gunnar Dybwad [in the March issue] so truly termed "a path that unmistakably led to the uttermost depths of human depravity." He calls this excuse a *"need"!* I suggest that Mr. Illing secure correct data concerning unemployment from the International Labor Office before he gets that old excuse out of the moth balls again. He will find that the British at times during the protracted depression brought on by Germany's First World War had a far higher percentage of unemployed than Germany had. Mary Barnett Gilson

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Delinquency Treatment

To the Editor: I want to compliment you on Anne Roller Issler's very splendid article "The Youth Authority Way" which appeared in the May number of *The Survey*.

Many articles have been written about the work of the Youth Authority in California. None of the articles I have seen has been as accurately prepared and as interestingly written as Mrs. Issler's. The author took the pains and trouble to get the facts and presented them most interestingly.

There has perhaps been no movement in the field of delinquency treatment in the United States in the past thirty years that has attracted as much attention as the program that California is endeavoring to set up under the Youth Authority Law. Consequently, an informative article such as Mrs. Issler's will help many people who are attempting to improve delinquency treatment programs in the various parts of this country. O. H. Close

Member, Youth Authority
State of California

Honoris Causa

To the Editor: The Schools of Theology award the D.D. to those who have distinguished themselves along lines of theological thought. The universities award the LL.D. to men of outstanding accomplishment in learning and public affairs. I wish to suggest that the nation should likewise honor those who have rendered some conspicuous public service.

I suggest that this be in the hands of a permanent committee appointed by the President and that it be in the ranks of, but not subservient to, either the Department of State or the Social Security Agency and that the letters P.B., public benefactor, be awarded to such as seem to this committee to have earned them.

Among those to receive this title might be those who have established the great foundations, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Ford and a host of others. Then, men like Senator Fulbright, who have served conspicuously and wisely in public positions, and persons who like Jane Addams have offered at slight remuneration a life of service to the public. Henry S. Curtis

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Fuller Explanation

To the Editor: Your editing of my letter in the August *Survey* to read "through failure to incorporate *teaching* about planned marriage and parenthood into our colleges" gives an utterly misleading impression of what I intended. My idea, which I should have made more clear, is that until our colleges give *actual experience* of marriage and parenthood to undergraduates, and make possible large families of children before getting started in a career, we as a race are doomed and we as a nation are doomed. Such eugenic revision of college curricula should be possibile through long term credit unions operated by the students, and through adoption of the part-work part-study plan.

Theodore B. Dufur

Los Angeles, California

How Old Are You?

To the Editor: *In re* the Governor's Conference on the Problems of the Aging, to be held in Sacramento this month (October) I suggest:

That the calendar age be extinguished as an arbitrary and peremptory qualification for retirement; that retirement be effectuated with the cooperation of Retirement Survey Boards; that their survey be at the indication of the employer or the employe; that retirement pay be adjusted to economic actualities; that the retiree be stabilized in his accustomed environment. . . .

Attempts to solve this problem in Los Angeles county over a considerable period of years have been wholly unsatisfactory.

Los Angeles, California Claud Hollick

About a Poem

To the Editor: The poem "Requiem" by Hannah Kahn in the October issue is one of the choicest gems of American verse I have ever read. Its depth, and delicacy of feeling and its simplicity make it a classic in literature, and a keepsake in our hearts. Thank you for giving it to us who seem to see many sparrows fall in our daily work!

Marjory Poole

Vocational and Adult Schools
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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THE SURVEY

November 1951

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Among Ourselves

A SPECIAL three-member committee of the United Nations began an investigation last month of the slave labor conditions around the world, described in the September *Survey* by Albert Konrad Herling, research director of the Commission for Inquiry Into Forced Labor. The UN investigation, proposed by the American Federation of Labor in 1947, was stalled for four years by the delaying tactics of the Soviet Union. The special committee now set up, the chairman of which is Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India, has before it a mass of documentation, including more than 200 communist governmental decrees from Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The committee will consider the evidence submitted by various governments and report its findings to the Economic and Social Council next year.

ABRAHAM SUSSMAN, writer of the verse (page 465) responded to an editorial request for a little background information about the poet with a letter which *Survey* editors want to share at least in part with *Survey* readers: "I came to the USA in 1902 at the age of 19. My first job was in a wool mill in Bristol, Penna. I received $2.50 for a 54-hour week. After one year I moved to Philadelphia, where I became an operator on men's clothing. The sweatshop system was most shameful, so I together with other young idealists—immigrants—started a campaign of education and organization among the workers. With the help and cooperation of . . . native Americans who were imbued with the ideals of the founders of our Republic we . . . succeeded in eradicating the sweatshop and improving greatly the working conditions of the people. . . .

"In 1914, I joined the editorial staff of the *Daily Jewish World* in Philadelphia in the capacity of labor editor. I held the position for 27 years, until the paper was discontinued."

FREEDOM HOUSE, established in New York City in 1941 as a rallying point for democratic discussion and action, celebrated its tenth anniversary last month. The celebration included a luncheon of representatives of civic and educational organizations, a nationwide broadcast over the Columbia network, and a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria.

At the dinner, three Freedom House Awards were bestowed. One went to Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, editor and publisher of one of the Hemisphere's most distinguished newspapers, *La Prensa,* which stood out for democracy until it fell victim to Peron and his dictatorship. Another was a posthumous award to Franklin D. Roosevelt, accepted by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. A third was given to Paul G. Hoffman, now president of the Ford Foundation, who buttressed the free economies of Western Europe as engineer-in-chief of the Marshall Plan. (See page 480.)

AMONG THE SIX physicians honored by the 1951 Lasker Awards of the American Public Health Association, was Dr. Florence R. Sabin of Denver, Colorado, who will be 80 years old this month, and whose "third career" as a member of her state's postwar planning committee and manager of health for Denver was recounted in *The Survey Graphic,* February 1947, by Albert Q. Maisel. The Awards this year were given for the techniques of applying scientific knowledge, rather than for pure research. Other recipients were Dr. Frederic A. Gibbs, University of Illinois; Dr. William G. Lennox, Children's Medical Center, Boston; Dr. Karl F. Meyer, Hooper Foundation, University of California Medical Center; Dr. Elise L'Esperance, Strang Clinics, New York City; Dr. Catharine Macfarlane, Pennsylvania Women's Medical College.

FOR this month's cover, our production editor, Cora Emme, chose the original Thanksgiving turkey, drawn by Audubon, and published in the elephant folio of his "Birds of America," London, 1827-38. The plates are now owned by The Old Print Shop, New York.

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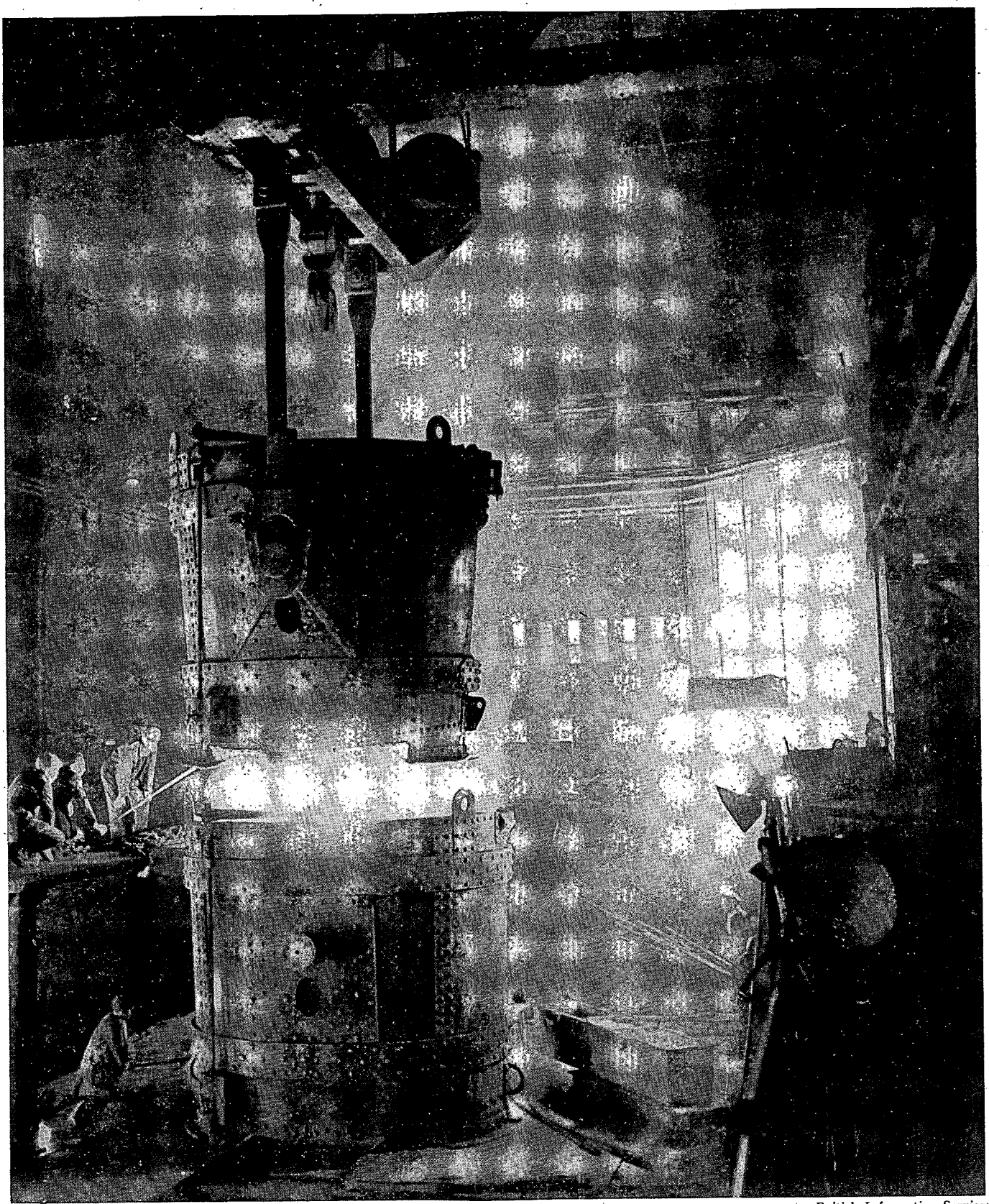

British Information Services

At Sheffield, England, steel workers watch tensely the pouring of a giant ingot weighing 200 tons. Beginning on page 460, an economist considers the nationalization of this basic industry, and its post-election outlook

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"This Is the Voice of America..."

Some of the pluses and the minuses of our major official effort to counter Communist propaganda and carry on a "campaign of truth."

HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM

A YOUNG WOMAN AND TWO MEN WALKED INTO STUDIO 12, waved a friendly greeting to the engineer in the control room, spoke a few words in Turkish so that their voices could be tested electronically, and then relaxed to await the start of a broadcast beamed to Asia Minor, while the producer-director spread out a script on his desk.

The young woman stood in front of an upright microphone, the two men settled in chairs at a large table, a "mike" in front of each of them. At ten seconds before 4 P.M., a light on the control panel flashed. When it reached the hour, the producer gave a hand signal to the young woman and said "Mike," to the engineer. Voice of America's daily broadcast to Turkish listeners was on the airwaves.

The girl spoke three words, *"Burasi Amerikanin Sesi,"* the Turkish equivalent of the customary opening phrase, "This is the Voice of America." The engineer started a recording of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean." As the theme song ended, the young woman introduced the newscasters, who read (in Turkish of course) items from Tokyo, Washington, and other centers. After a recording of American dance music, there were the remarks of a commentator. At 14½ minutes past 4 P.M., the program, sent out from the headquarters of the International Broadcasting Division of the Department of State in New York City, was finished.

Around the clock, such scenes as this are being enacted as the Voice of America wages its ideological war in all sections of the globe. There is never a quarter hour that some peoples are not being told the latest development in the United States "Campaign of Truth."

This country has placed its biggest pile of chips in the psychological "cold war" with the Soviet Union on the Voice of America. Just how big that pile is, many Americans do not realize.

From 1949, through the fiscal year 1951, for instance, the Voice spent approximately $65,000,000 for construction or purchase of radio facilities. For those three years, operating costs were approximately $33,000,000. The operating budget for the current fiscal year probably will be about $22,000,000. (By way of contrast, one American soap company spent $23,000,000 on advertising in a single year.)

The Voice maintains a worldwide radio barrage. It originates more than 125 daily programs, ranging from 15 minutes to an hour. These total more than 50 program-hours. Newscasts and commentaries on events comprise the bulk of the broadcasts. Among the special features put on the air during a typical week recently were such varied programs as "News *Pravda* Never Printed"; a new version of "Casey Jones," adapted to Frantisek Carda, Czechoslovakian engineer who crashed his train through the Iron Curtain; "Socialism's New Look," an interview with Norman Thomas; and an exposé of the recent "Communist top secret" sessions of the Council of the World's Peace Congress in Prague; a radio book review of James A. Michener's "Return to Paradise" in a series entitled, "What America Is Reading"; roundups of United Nations news; and "Press Opinion, USA."

Some 350,000 words are broadcast each day in forty-six languages. The latest of these—Japanese—was added at the time that the peace treaty was being signed at San Francisco. In addition to the more familiar languages, the Voice also uses, for example, Amoy, Malay or Tamil, Swatow, Thai, Hindi, Azerbaijani, Tartar, Urdu, and Georgian.

Repeat broadcasts, such as those in the Russian language which bombard the peoples of the USSR on an around-the-clock schedule, total another 58 program-hours daily.

The Voice employs just under 1,500 workers, including its own reporters, translators who know the languages —including the slang—of the world's listeners, and technicians whose special job is to overcome Soviet jamming. Of these employes, 400 are overseas.

The Voice has received as high as 40,000 fan letters in a single month, with 97 percent coming from outside the United States. For the twelve months ending September 1, the Voice received 327,730 letters compared with 185,269 during the previous twelve months. Yet the Voice of America has been a postwar target for more rough criticism, both in Congress and outside, than the conventional government agency receives in a couple of decades.

Congress, at least at this writing, is not as unhappy about the Voice as the adverse comment would indicate. The 1951 session increased funds for operational costs by approximately $4,000,000 over the previous year. This was done while other Department of State informational activities were being curtailed and while extra funds for

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—By a writer whose name is well known to Survey *readers. Mr. Krieghbaum, a former newspaper man, is associate professor of journalism at New York University.*

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new transmitters and other Voice radio equipment were eliminated from the appropriation bill. This $4,000,000 increase was, in effect, a qualified vote of confidence in present operation of the Voice despite the refusal to invest more in facilities.

Technical objections to the Voice have been concentrated on two aspects. First, some commentators have argued that other media are more effective. They cite, as examples, posters, books sold at cost or below; motion pictures, and press releases distributed to foreign newspapers. Second, some critics who favor radio as a medium for reaching the minds of men on both sides of the Iron Curtain charge that the Voice is not powerful enough. This argument has been heard increasingly since the Soviets began jamming United States broadcasts in the spring of 1949. This situation will be vastly improved by the completion of ten super-powered curtain antennas, the first two of which are scheduled at this writing to go into operation in late October. The project will not "cure" jamming, but it will enable the Voice of America to increase its signal strength fourteenfold, and to reach millions of new listeners throughout the world.

FOY D. KOHLER, Chief of the Voice of America

In a fact-sheet on how it is carrying out the United States Information and Education Act of 1948 "to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries," the Department of State had this to say:

"Radio is the fastest, most effective day-by-day medium for achieving this objective; it speaks directly to people abroad, instantaneously surmounting barriers of distance, censorship, illiteracy, foreign exchange, paper shortages, and tariffs."

Practically all students of mass communications would agree with this statement although it is perfectly true that, for specific objectives and under certain conditions, other media may be more effective.

The very fact that the Soviets instituted jamming indicates that the Kremlin leaders believed too many Russians were listening to United States programs. Nearly 250 short wave, skywave jamming installations have been located to date and Voice engineers estimate that there is a total of at least 1,000 additional Soviet jamming installations that can not be identified satisfactorily from this side of the Iron Curtain. One French newspaper declared Moscow spends more in jamming than all Voice broadcasts cost the United States. The USSR would not spend such sums on technical equipment and manpower if United States broadcasts were not reaching substantial numbers of listeners.

Even around Moscow, where the Soviets have concentrated their jamming, the Voice can be heard at least a quarter of the time. Since programs are beamed at Russia around the clock, the people of Moscow have six hours or more of the Voice available daily. Outside the capital, reception is reported to vary from 60 percent to almost unbroken audibility in a few areas.

Defectors who come through the Iron Curtain report widespread listening. Admittedly they are not entirely impartial reporters, but the constant repetition of an essential pattern of listening does seem to indicate that the broadcasts get through. Foy D. Kohler, chief of the International Broadcasting Division which directs the Voice, quotes a Russian defector who said after his arrival in Germany: "Your broadcasts are a weapon more powerful than the atom bomb."

Increasing mention of Voice of America in Soviet publications contributes additional evidence of effectiveness in reaching Russian citizenry. *Pravda* said last August that "in the stinking radio kitchen of the Voice of America [there is] a huge swarm like wasps of inveterate liars, hardened spies, intriguers, and other riffraff, including the immigrant rabble."

Similar reports come through from the satellite countries. For example, a Rumanian doctor who recently fled the Communist regime quoted the supervisors of the Bucharest telephone exchange as saying that just before 9 P.M. (the time of the Rumanian broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation, which is followed by the Voice) all telephones go silent and hardly any calls are put through for about an hour—presumably because people are at their radios. The doctor also told of trade union meetings being concluded in a hurry so people could reach their homes before 9 P.M.

Radio Chunking was overheard to warn its listeners in Mandarin: "The Voice of America is the meanest rumor factory in the world. It is an intelligence organ of the American fifth column. . . . The victorious Chinese people should boycott the Voice of America, the important weapon of American imperialist aggression."

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Objections to the agency's personnel have concentrated on two broad charges: first, that many employes are amateurs and incompetents; second, that Communist sympathizers hold key jobs. Obviously, no large organization can point with pride to every single worker, but Voice executives believe they do not have to apologize for their colleagues.

The Voice is the only major professional international broadcasting organization in the United States. In 1947, the radio networks handled the government's overseas broadcasting. With all-out "cold war," the Department of State was selected for this assignment. Many, if not most, of the private experts moved over to the governmental Voice. They provided a continuity of experience. Other specialists were recruited from domestic broadcasting, business generally, and from colleges and universities. Some left better paying positions to join the Voice of America because they considered the "cold war" a draft call.

MR. KOHLER, CHIEF OF THE VOICE, WAS APPOINTED TO THE United States Foreign Service twenty years ago. Among his more important assignments have been political and liaison officer at the San Francisco Conference on the United Nations in 1945, secretary general of the United States Mission to Observe Elections in Greece in 1946, and service at the embassy in Moscow from 1946 to 1949.

The Advisory Commission on Information, set up under the 1948 act to check on all phases of the informational program, said this about personnel in its semi-annual report last April:

"It takes a great deal of patriotic self-sacrifice for men and women who are highly-skilled and highly-paid professionals to leave their long range posts and come into government service under conditions of uncertainty and often abuse which have prevailed in recent years. These people deserve the highest recognition and gratitude of their country. . . . We are not so naïve as to ignore the presence in the information program—as in most other branches of government—of people who do not compare in talent and skills with those required in most private industry. But, as people in private life ourselves, we have no hesitation in saying that many of those who have taken this program through its slimmest days possess skill and ability which compare very favorably with that to be found anywhere."

This conclusion was based on more than two years of study. The report was signed by Erwin D. Canham, editor *Christian Science Monitor;* Philip D. Reed, chairman, General Electric Company; Dr. Mark A. May, director, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University; and Judge Justin Miller, president, National Association of Broadcasters.

Since the Voice of America is spearheading the United States efforts in "cleaning out the Aegean stables of international confusion and misunderstanding," it would be a *coup* for an undercover Communist to infiltrate it. The Smith-Mundt act provides specifically that the Federal Bureau of Investigation must clear all individuals hired in the informational program, which includes Voice employes. But that is only one of the hurdles that must be cleared. A prospective worker for Voice of America also faces inquiry by the Civil Service Commission and security clearance by the Department of State. All this takes time, and a six months delay between application and hiring is typical. If investigations can uncover a secret subversive, then the Department of State informational employes should be simon pure. The Voice's record is exceptional on the loyalty question. In its entire history, not one of its employes has been fired as a subversive.

The heaviest batteries of criticism have been trained upon the content of Voice broadcasts. This concern with the programs themselves is sound—they are the pay-off weapon in the ideological war. If men's minds are reached and moved, then technical problems and personnel questions drop into secondary importance.

Some critics have declared that Voice programs are amateurish, that they are unprofessionally presented, that they are not adapted to the specific regional audience, that they have too much of the "huckster flavor" of domestic United States radio.

AFTER THE UNITED STATES REPLACED THE OBLIGATORY relay of its programs on German radio stations by an agreement on a voluntary basis, managers explained that they readily accepted the arrangement because the Voice served an important information function. Eberhart Beckman, chairman of the Association of German Broadcasters, put it this way over the air on August 2:

"Even if we were able to send a staff of our own reporters to America, we could not hope to give such an authoritative and speedy picture of official American thinking, of the reaction of the American people to events, and so on. I regard the Voice of America relay as our daily interview with the United States."

For each of the forty-six languages, a special group or "desk" adapts a basic "house script" to the needs of the audience at which the program will be beamed. For instance, the German language service is responsible for broadcasts to the East and West zones of Germany and to Austria. Workers on these "desks" originate material, too.

The Russian desk has developed a "Calendar" which provides a day-by-day diary of the discrepancies between Soviet words and Soviet deeds. This desk also is responsible for a religious program on which Archbishop John of the Russian Orthodox Church speaks. This is beamed at the USSR with the hope that it will attract listeners who are still deeply religious despite efforts of the Soviets to weaken their faith.

In his August 20 message to Con-

Nowa Kultura, Poland

***Glos Ameryki* (The Voice of America)**

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gress on the resolution reaffirming the friendship of the American and Russian peoples, President Truman credited the Voice with having "compelled" the Soviets eventually to publish the document.

Quite frequently in the past the Russians have suppressed expressions running counter to their propaganda line. But in this case, the Voice's Russian "desk" in New

Stephen Marinuzzi

A broadcast to Indonesia from New York

York City worked out a form announcement which clocked off the days since the congressional joint resolution had been delivered in Moscow. It concluded:

"This group of people in the Kremlin, which tries to picture itself as the champion of peace, refuses to let the Russian people learn of the friendship which the American people feel for them."

While it is true that there is no sure way of knowing on this side of the Iron Curtain how many persons in the totalitarian countries are listening to United States broadcasts, the violent reactions of the governments of Russia and its satellites indicate that the programs are anything but ineffective.

A second criticism of United States radio programs for foreigners is that they are aimed at intellectuals rather than the mass audience.

Officials point out that, after all, the potential audience of 300,000,000 outside North America includes a high percentage of the intelligentsia since this group owns most of the 80,000,000 available radio sets. Therefore, they argue, many programs need to aim at a fairly high level of education and understanding. But they quickly add that this is not always true.

Some programs directed to France, for example, have been ridiculed by Parisians as naïve. The Voice's answer is that these particular broadcasts, some of which are carried by the French domestic network, are deliberately aimed at the mass audience in the provinces, not the more sophisticated residents of the capital.

Again, some broadcasts are produced upon request of the stations which will carry them. One such program which was suggested by Latin Americans is "The Sea Hound," a series of 26 half-hour episodes in a cloak-and-dagger story. Taking place aboard ship, it shows representatives of the Western Hemisphere countries cooperating to track down and solve crimes against humanity, for example, the uncovering of a narcotics ring. So popular is "The Sea Hound" that a Portuguese edition is planned along the lines of the present Spanish sequences.

In a critical article in the *New York Herald Tribune* last July, Joseph Newman asked pointedly how many Russians can be expected to risk what they must risk to receive a few clear moments of a Voice broadcast only to hear a hot jazz record. But for some time, the Voice has not broadcast any music at all to the Soviet Union. The last light music beamed at Russia was in September, 1948, and classical and all other music was eliminated in May, 1949, when Soviet jamming began. Even an opening and closing musical theme is omitted. "Yankee Doodle" used to be played, but it was cut out, since if overheard it might direct Soviet police to a listener to the forbidden program.

Where the "cold war" is less intense, music plays an ideological role as is shown in the following letter received from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika:

" . . . Your news and information programs are excellent, but please don't forget entertainment, which I notice receives such gloomy treatment on Radio Moscow; I feel sure that the way democracy enjoys itself should be well and truly pointed out to Communism and its grim adherents."

The worldwide breakdown of Voice programs is: News—36 percent; analyses and features, which include political commentaries, press reviews, roundtable discussions, special events, and documentaries, and some domestic radio shows made available by the networks—54 percent; music—10 percent.

Another criticism one hears sometimes, is that the Voice of America is too much the tool of the Department of State.

Obviously, the broadcasts best define and interpret American foreign policy when they rest solidly on the decisions and views of the Department of State. In this sense, the Voice *is* a tool of government policies. It must be. However, if this objection means that the radio colors the news and comments to protect the higher echelon, the charge is largely untrue. However, when official policy is muddled, its radio dissemination may bring unhappy results. To blame the Voice for this is like lambasting the weatherman when rain spoils a picnic.

Mr. Kohler discussed it this way in a talk last May before the Institute for Education at Columbus, Ohio:

"I want to say at this point that, in a democracy—and in the long run in any regime anywhere—the word and the deed must go together. Pure propaganda at variance with acts may serve to confuse for a while or even to attain immediate tactical objectives. But, in the long run, false pretensions will out. In fact, it is one of our constant purposes to expose the false pretensions of our opponents. By the same token, it is our basic rule to maintain credibility and confidence in the Voice of

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America, even at the expense of occasional tactical reverses."

An overwhelming majority of Voice executives approve integration with the Department of State despite the fact that that agency is a political "target area."

The Advisory Committee on Information last April said: "One vital requisite in the handling of the information program is that it shall not be remote from policy-planning. Another equally significant need is that the United States abroad should speak with a single voice. There can be separate tones and modulations in that voice, and a choice of vocabularies, but the voice should not contradict itself. . . .

"No propaganda can be any stronger than the policy from which it springs. Thus the information specialists should be at all times and at all levels just as close as they possibly can be to the making of policy. . . . Since most foreign policy is made by the State Department, the closer the information program can be to the State Department, the more effective the propaganda will be."

Still another fault cited in United States broadcasts is that they fail to get down in the gutter and slug it out with Soviet propagandists. However aloof the Voice's approach in the early stages of its postwar evolution, Soviet jamming and later the North Korean aggression sharpened its contest of the airwaves. The Voice recently inaugurated a program called "Who's Who," which names individuals, exposes their operations as "the third- or fourth-rate hirelings, the lackeys, the boot-lickers, the small fry of Communism."

Here is one short case history from a recent edition of this program:

"Janos Gaspar—About Forty-Five Years Old—A Former Swimming Teacher from Eger—Masquerades As a Pilot."

"The wave of deportations in Budapest and other cities of Hungary has spurred many Hungarians to seek escape from Communist terror. One such Hungarian was a young stenographer who had been active against the Nazis and was consequently suspected of anti-Communism. In her search for a way out she met an honest-looking former swimming teacher from Eger who said he was a trained pilot. He claimed to have access to an airplane and expressed willingness to fly a group of fugitives out of Hungary. The stenographer was told to recruit other anti-Communist escapees. When she had done so, he promptly exacted his fee in advance. The fee was payable in foreign currency.

Magyar Radio, Hungary

The Voice in New York: "You're hired!"

On the day of the projected flight the fugitives met their pilot at Ferihegy Airfield, outside of Budapest. The pilot seemed upset. He said one of the mechanics who had serviced their plane was threatening to betray them. Claiming he had no Hungarian money with him, the pilot asked his passengers to surrender all their *forints*. And with that he left—never to return. A few moments later the Hungarian Security Police—the AVH—moved in and arrested the entire group of anti-Communist fugitives.

"Janos Gaspar . . . small, stout, with black hair . . . about forty-five years old . . . a former swimming teacher . . . looks honest and is friendly to persons considered politically unreliable by Hungary's Communist regime . . . poses as a pilot but is actually an agent of the Hungarian Security Police. Janos Gaspar . . . his name and his record are known."

This sort of program certainly pulls few punches. Together, Radio Free Europe, which is financed through the Crusade for Freedom, and the Voice aim to keep hope alive behind the Iron Curtain, to stiffen resistance, and to expose Communist lies.

Since the outbreak of the Korean war, broadcasters have spent practically no time describing life in the free world except to make political points. When it does describe United States living standards to audiences behind the Iron Curtain, the Voice contrasts them with Soviet standards and concludes that a society based on freedom has a level of human welfare which a dictatorship never can attain.

One official explained the philosophy behind broadcasts to Russia thus:

"The Voice of America at present concentrates on giving the Soviet listener factual reports on what is happening in the world; news is a major part of every Voice of America broadcast beamed to the Soviet Union; and news items are selected in order to fill the void created by Soviet censorship or to counteract distortion of Soviet propaganda."

Trud, Moscow

The irresponsible Voice

On October 1, an operating staff inaugurated programing from Munich. This was the first such group to function outside the United States. If this experiment works (and it should), then additional groups may be set up around the USSR and its satellites, cutting down the gap between the time that propaganda comes from behind the Iron Curtain and the time the truth is bounced back by the Voice.

Government officials look to the future with the expectation of expanding the number of languages which will be broadcast and an even greater intensification of the psychological offensive. Thus, they believe, the Voice will spur the growing determination in the West. Such practices have worked in recent months and their refinement and continuation may be expected. Mobilization of United Nations forces to oppose aggression in Korea was due in part to United States broadcasts in the "Campaign of Truth." Decline of Communist strength in France and Italy, both vital in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has been fostered by the Voice.

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Britain's Iron and Steel

The story of the Labor Government's nationalization of a basic industry, how the new set-up functions, what post-election steps — whoever won — are likely to be.

LUDWIG HAMBURGER

On February 15, 1951, the British iron and steel industry passed from private into public ownership and operation. The Tory Party stands officially committed to reverse the action, and at this writing, steel is a campaign issue as it was in the preceding two general elections. But whichever party wins at the polls on October 25, 1951, and whether or not the Tories, if victorious, will in fact deem it wise to return the industry to private hands, the nationalization of iron and steel is a matter of great moment. The event stands out in the history of Britain and indeed of the Western world. Democracy and socialism joined hands in shaping it. The British have managed to harness to a common purpose these two forces that, it is claimed, are mutually incompatible. At the same time they gave socialism a new conservative twist.

The nationalization of the British iron and steel industry is a victory of the forces of democracy because the powerful sponsors of the measure give their opponents a great deal more than the regular constitutional opportunities of defeating it. The history of the Iron and Steel Act is unusual.

Nationalization of iron and steel was prominent in the platform on which the Labor Party rose to power in the general elections of 1945. Nevertheless, the Labor administration did not take over the industry in the first flush of victory; it gave priority to other legislation deemed more pressing, and put steel off to the latter part of its tenure. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons in October, 1948, fought by the opposition at all successive legislative stages, and passed in May, 1949. It provided for the industry to come into public ownership on (or within eighteen months from) May 1, 1950.

The bill then went to the House of Lords. Although overwhelmingly Tory and opposed to the measure, the hereditary chamber bowed before the representatives of the people: it endorsed the legislation. Indeed, it cooperated constructively with the Commons in that it offered some fifty technical and drafting amendments, many of which were in due course accepted and incorporated in the bill. The peers did not press the others. They stood firm, however, on an amendment to put in deep freeze the legislation otherwise fully agreed to and completed by both chambers. They insisted on delaying its coming into operation until October, 1950 (and, in part, until July, 1951)—that is to say, until after the general elections due to be held by July, 1950. Whatever mandate the Labor government might have received in 1945, it was not valid, they argued, to include nationalization of iron and steel as late as 1949; the legislation "should not go into operation until the electorate have had an opportunity of expressing their opinion." The upper chamber hoped that nationalization of iron and steel would become a major issue of the 1950 campaign, and that the people would return a Conservative administration, pledged to repeal the legislation before it became effective.

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—By an economist, educated in his native Germany, which he left in 1925. Formerly on the faculty of the University of Geneva, Dr. Hamburger came to this country in 1940 and has been on the staffs of the Brookings Institution, the University of Denver, and Howard University. This article is a by-product of a broad research project on public control of economic life in Britain.

The Labor government could have disregarded the move. It had expected obstruction from the Lords; was passing legislation to curtail their delaying powers, and was at the point of acquiring all constitutional authority necessary to carry the bill over their heads before the general elections. This course, however, would have laid the administration open to the charge of taking unfair advantage of a power position shortly to be challenged and of exposing the status of a vital industry to a damaging uncertainty; indeed, as it then seemed, the industry might have been nationalized only to be returned to private hands. Moreover, 1949 was drawing to its end and the government claimed it would "so have to rush the preliminary steps required to make May 1, 1950, the take-over date as seriously to jeopardize the successful launching of the scheme." A compromise was therefore worked out that substantially conceded the Lords' case. The bill went to the statute books at the end of November, 1949, amended to the extent that the new agency to assume national control of the industry was not to be established before October 1, 1950, and that the industry was not to pass into public ownership before January 1, 1951.

The arrangement wounded many staunch Laborites, but it was in fact a triple tribute to the spirit of democracy. On the one hand, it enabled the socialist administration to complete the legislative program to which it had pledged itself before the people. On the other hand, it enabled the people to review, in what Winston Churchill called "almost a referendum," a piece of legislation that had been sharply controversial in Parliament. In addition, it gave the opposition ample opportunity to raise

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the issue again in the new Parliment when, with a very small margin, the elections of February, 1950, went again for Labor.

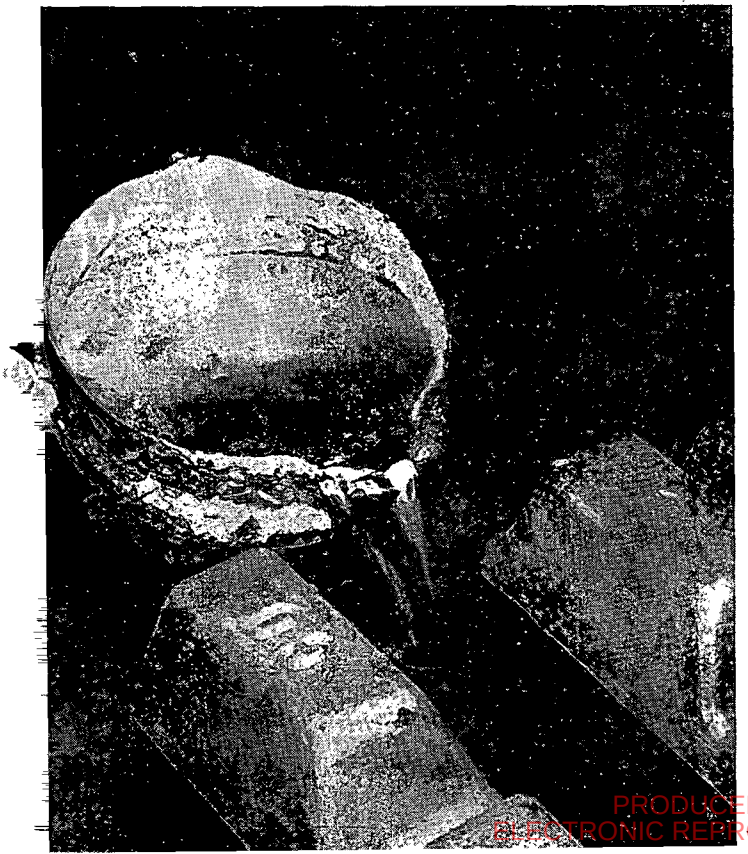
Three times after the elections and before the end of 1950 the Conservatives challenged the administration on steel. And the government gave them a fourth opportunity, which they readily seized, when it decided to postpone the final transfer of the industry to public ownership from the first of the year to February 15, 1951. In all four cases the Conservatives failed to rally a majority. Little if any major legislation has been so long before the British people and Parliament, and was permitted to be so thoroughly debated and weighed.

The nationalization of iron and steel is also, whether one likes it or not, an unprecedented victory of socialism. Of course, the Labor administration had previously nationalized the Bank of England, coal mining, the scheduled airlines, cable and wireless communication, the railroads and long distance trucking, electric power, and gas. But in all these cases public ownership and operation had been a "natural," or in the offing. Even when privately owned, the Bank of England had in fact almost always been amenable to official policies; the industries and services taken over were public utilities, in various respects and degrees subject to public control; while coal had been notoriously in a bad way, poorly managed, ill-equipped, torn by strikes and labor unrest, with low production and productivity, bankrupt—there was a good case for the state to assume full responsibility for this "sick" industry.

In iron and steel, on the other hand, the Labor administration nationalized a basic manufacture, a "heavy" industry, by and large well equipped and run, proud of its labor relations, expanding, with record output figures rising almost every month. Further, it was socially and politically an incarnatiotn, a citadel, the very Gibraltar of militant capitalism. Needless to say, the owners were compensated. Nevertheless, this nationalization was a new and radical departure.

Ostensibly, the Labor administration acted on limited

David W. Corson from A. Devaney



managerial grounds. Public ownership of the industry, they claimed, was necessary in order to forestall a revival of the restrictive cartel practices that had prevailed in the past; to determine the future size and form of the industry in the interest of the nation; and to make sure it would effectively serve national defense. But the argument had a hollow ring. These objectives could have been attained under private ownership by means of regulatory controls that in varying forms had been applied to the industry since the beginning of World War II.

In reality, the Labor administration acted on broad political grounds. The conviction has steadily grown in Britain that man could and should consciously direct essential processes of society as he has growingly shown himself master of the processes of nature; that Adam Smith's "invisible hand," supposed to insure the welfare of all via the selfish action of each, be replaced by the visible hand of the organized community; that free enterprise as an economic order be supplanted or tempered by planned action of the people; that democratic government control essential sectors and phases of economic life. In removing iron and steel—the most powerful single bastion of capitalism—from private ownership and operation, Labor intended to strike at the core of the forces that resisted the new philosophy and opposed its successful implementation. By the same token, it enhanced the impact of the philosophy on the social and economic structure. The nationalization of iron and steel transcends the industry. It epitomizes and seals the victory in Britain of fundamental tenets of socialism.

THE VICTORY IS EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN IT WOULD AT first appear. The Conservative approach to the control of steel is in fact fairly close to that of Labor. In the House of Lords, the Tories actually accepted nationalization of the industry. As a party and in the Commons, it is true, they fought it bitterly, but *they did not fight it in the name of free enterprise*. They took a stand very similar to the position taken in the case of the industries and services which were nationalized earlier. As an alternative to public ownership and operation they offered another brand of public control—less drastic in that it did not involve removal of the owners but, they claimed, equally effective. They proposed the establishment of an agency with broad powers to supervise and regulate, under the government, essential operations of the industry.

Such an agency had already existed in the past. On October 1, 1946, the Labor government set up the Iron and Steel Board, composed of representatives of steel management, labor, and consumers, and with them, a distinguished former civil servant. The Board functioned under a young, independent chairman with important wartime administrative experience. Responsible only to the Minister of Supply, the Board had wide authority to supervise the industry and effectively controlled its postwar development program and price policies; but with nationalization imminent the non-labor members withdrew and it ceased to function on March 31, 1949. The Tories propose to restore the Board, and may well give it statutory position and jurisdiction, "if need be, with new power." They are pledged to that course in the event they form the next government.

Thus it can be seen that the vast majority of the

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British people is now satisfied or actively desires that the iron and steel industry be subject to a high degree of public control. The views differ on degree, and on available methods, more stringent or less, to achieve and exercise the control. The steel issue is a narrow one. Rather than a fundamental split, it reveals the wide area of national agreement now existing in Britain on the relationships between government and economic life.

As a socialist scheme, the nationalization of iron and steel is of conservative design. The Steel Act makes no changes in the structure of the industry as it has developed out of past history and accident. The industry continues to be operated by the eighty companies whose securities have been taken into public ownership. This is in marked contrast to the original approach of the Labor administration in building the house of nationalized enterprise. Save for the Bank of England, the industries and services previously nationalized were thoroughly reorganized. All are operated by one or more public boards acting through a nationwide network of regional and local agencies—a treat for the lovers of organization charts. As a rule the former companies were blotted out, while the coal companies relinquished mining for other business interests.

There was of course good reason for preserving the existing steel companies as operating units of the industry. It seemed the most promising way for the community to make the best of former private enterprise. On the whole, as emphasized above, the companies had been technically and commercially effective. Many of them were well known; some were world famous. Each represented a distinct reservoir of experience, good will, reputation, loyalties built up over a period of time. The fact that the companies were eighty in number, meant a wide diffusion within the industry of the power to make decisions.

This seemed, indeed, a blessing. In the case of the other giant nationalized industries and services, authority and responsibility had been massed at the center, resulting, it had been charged, in bureaucratic management, unsatisfactory business conduct, and mechanized human relations. In short, the existing operating structure of iron and steel seemed valuable. Upsetting or experimenting with it seemed likely to harm rather than help the industry's performance.

The companies were therefore taken over as separate going concerns and retain all their established characteristics. Each keeps its corporate identity distinct from all others—its individual management, physical and financial assets, liabilities, technical and commercial organization, and existing subsidiaries (altogether, about one hundred and thirty). Each continues to function under its charter and has its ordinary rights and duties. They all produce and sell iron and steel and carry on every other legitimate business, each in its own name and on its own account, as before. This does not mean the industry is frozen in a rigid mold. Provision has been made for publicity-owned companies to form, split, and merge as had been usual under private ownership. No such moves have as yet occurred, and so the Tories would not have any eggs to unscramble should they come to power and decide to denationalize the industry. As a technical operation, return of the companies to private ownership would be primarily a legal, relatively simple matter.

The Steel Act adds to the industry only one structural element that had not been there before, the Iron and Steel Corporation of Great Britain, a government agency whose duty it is to insure that the companies operate the industry in the national interest. Even this innovation is designed along conservative lines. It is a new edition of an old instrument of corporate control commonly used at a time when the nationalization of any industry was but a gleam in the eyes of a few long-haired intellectuals. Amusingly enough, the Laborites borrowed it from the very arsenal of monopoly capitalism that they had set out to destroy.

For the Iron and Steel Corporation is a holding company. It is, of course, a statutory body, and its members are appointed by and responsible to the government acting through the Minister of Supply. But in relation to the industry, the Corporation, save for minor legal technicalities, does not differ from an ordinary holding company freely formed under private commercial arrangements. Under the Steel Act the securities of the nationalized companies are vested in the Corporation. It controls the companies in its capacity as stockholder. It has exclusive voting rights in each. It has power to man their boards and to insure the appointment of the executives it chooses.

In addition, the Corporation has operating duties and rights of its own. It is to provide various services and has a monopoly on raising capital for the industry as a whole. It is further authorized and may later on decide to undertake the production of iron and steel in its own behalf. But there is nothing unusual in activities such as these; many ordinary private commercial holding companies keep a larger or smaller foothold in the operating field.

To September, the Corporation had made changes in the boards of only five operating companies; for the rest management and labor continue on the job as before. It is true that the companies now produce steel at an annual rate slightly lower than before and shortly after transfer to public ownership, but this is due to the current world shortage of scrap of which Britain is an importer, and not even the bitterest enemies of the Labor administration hold nationalization responsible for the reduced steel output. Characteristically, the output of pig iron, which takes little or no scrap, is as high as it was in 1950.

The Labor government has drawn on the holding company device in an apparent effort to combine for the steel industry the advantages of over-all policy control by the large group with the managerial and human advantages of the smaller group. Will the device prove suitable? Will the experiment succeed? Will the Corporation use restraint in wielding the powers that slumber in the exclusive voting rights? Only the future can tell. The Steel Act in any event prescribes, under a proviso unprecedented in the bulky body of the nationalization laws, that the Corporation so exercise its powers as to secure for the industry the largest degree of decentralization consistent with its (the Corporation's) duties. The capacity of the industry is constantly expanding, and were it not for the lack of raw materials, the companies would now turn out more steel than before nationalization.

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Call for a New Immigration Policy

The former governor of Connecticut wrote this spirited challenge to Congress and the country before setting out as U.S. Ambassador to India.

CHESTER BOWLES

AMERICA BADLY NEEDS A NEW POLICY ON IMMIGRATION. Our present policy is a product of the age of Harding and Coolidge, when we were naïvely determined to isolate ourselves from the world, its problems, and its people. Its basic principles are outdated, discriminatory, and in clear violation of the democratic concepts on which our country has been built.

From the signing of the Declaration of Independence until 1921 America offered a generous welcome to immigrants from all over the world. As a result, some forty million men, women, and children crossed the oceans to create new lives of freedom and opportunity in the United States.

At the time of the Revolution our stock was largely English with a sprinkling of Dutch, Irish, and Scotch. The 1830's, however, brought hundreds of thousands of Irish immigrants, who had been driven from their homeland by potato crop failures and the oppressive tactics of British officials. They were joined by equally large numbers of Germans, who were defeated in their revolutionary effort in the 1840's to build a democratic Germany, and who came to America as a land of promise where an individual could speak his mind freely and rise to whatever heights he was capable.

The end of the Civil War, the passage of the Homestead Act, and the introduction of ocean-going steamships brought a further increase in the number of immigrants, most of whom continued to come from northern and western Europe. Beginning in 1885, however, their annual number diminished, and those coming from Italy, Poland, Greece, Rumania, and other southern and eastern European countries sharply increased.

Altogether, the flow of newcomers to America became one of the greatest migrations in recorded history. In the first ten years of the twentieth century immigration averaged one million men, women, and children each year—or more than one percent of our total population at that time. By 1910, 40 percent of all people living in the United States were either born abroad themselves or had a foreign-born parent or parents.

TODAY PART OF AMERICA'S STRENGTH LIES IN THE FACT that through the years we have thus borrowed generously from the people of Europe, and indeed of all the world. Some of our greatest scholars, scientists, public servants, business and labor leaders are the sons or grandsons of the immigrants of fifty years ago.

From the birth of our American democracy until the end of the First World War the only restrictions on immigration were designed to keep out those who were enemy aliens, diseased, feebleminded, or likely to become public charges. During the war, strong support began to develop for a more strict immigration policy with an annual ceiling, and specific quotas for each nationality. One of Woodrow Wilson's last acts as President was to veto such a bill.

In 1921, the first restrictive legislation was passed. This legislation set a top quota of 350,000 immigrants annually, exclusive of newcomers from the Western Hemisphere who were specifically exempt. The effect of this limitation was to reduce annual immigration to about one third the average number which had entered our country in the years before the First World War. The national quotas set by this legislation also discriminated sharply against potential newcomers from eastern and southern Europe.

BUT THE 1921 ACT WAS ONLY A CURTAIN RAISER. IN 1924 new legislation was passed which cut its total quotas to less than half, and discriminated even more harshly against southern and eastern Europeans. This legislation, which was further modified in 1929, still forms the basis of our immigration policy. The only improvements occurred in 1945 and in 1946 when the previous ugly, race-conscious discrimination against Asiastic peoples was relaxed, although not wholly eliminated.

The first objective of this thirty-year immigration policy has obviously been to reduce the number of immigrants coming to our shores. That objective has been achieved with a vengeance. Although our population has increased by one third since 1914, the quotas set under the 1924 Act allow only one sixth as many immigrants to come to America each year as came on the average in the fourteen years immediately preceding World War II.

The reduction of immigration on such a drastic basis was demonstrably wrong when our present policy was established in 1924. Such an extreme is even more misguided now in the midst of a world struggle of tremendous proportions. Our ability to succeed in this struggle depends upon the strength, convictions, and abilities of our people.

Who will question the fact that in 1951 we are immeasurably stronger, not only in the terms of economic power, but also in spiritual values, because of the millions who came to America from abroad in the last 100 years? Our working force of able-bodied men and women in industry, agriculture, and trade totals 62 million. Who can deny that our country would be better prepared for whatever the future may hold if that figure were 65, 70, or 75 million?

The second objective of our immigration policy has

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been an attempt to legislate what kind of people make the "best" American citizens. In line with this objective our immigration laws insist that the Browns and the Schwartzes are more desirable Americans than the Lavellis and the Petrofskys.

This concept of nationality "class," this effort to place millions of Americans in the role of inferior citizens, runs completely counter to our democratic principles. It is not only undemocratic, it is ridiculous. Where is there any evidence that Americans who are descended from southern or eastern Europeans have contributed less by and large to the building of our country than Americans descended from western and northern Europeans? Actually the states in which Polish, Italian, Greek, and other immigrants from southern and eastern Europe largely have settled—New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan—are now among the most prosperous in the Union. They lead in progressive legislation.

THE FOLLOWING COMPARISONS INDICATE THE SHOCKING amount of discrimination which the 1924 Act established as part of our policy:

Immigration from Italy in 1914, the year immediately before the First World War, totaled 296,000. The 1921 Act lowered it to 42,000 annually. The present Italian immigration ceiling, set in the 1924 Act, slashed this to only 5,000.

In 1914, 174,000 Polish immigrants reached the USA. The 1921 Act reduced their quota to 30,000 a year; the 1924 Act to 6,000. Greece, which sent 46,000 people to our country in 1907, now has an annual quota of only 307.

In contrast, the 1921 Act set a top limit of 77,000 on immigration from Great Britain and Northern Ireland—only slightly under the all-time record from these countries in a single year. Even when the total immigration ceiling was cut in half under the 1924 Act, Great Britain's quota was reduced only to 65,000. Under this law the annual German quota is substantially more than total quotas from all southern European countries, including Italy and Greece plus Poland.

Put in terms of discrimination, in 1900, 65 percent of all immigrants coming to this country came from eastern and southern Europe, while 33 percent came from western and northern Europe. The 1924 Act reduced quotas from southern and eastern Europe to only 14 percent of the annual total, while increasing the percentage from northern and western Europe to 84 percent. (The remaining 2 percent were from Africa and Asia.)

Although the "Displaced Persons" legislation, passed by Congress in 1948 under spur of the war, allowed many refugees who were in particularly dire straits to come to the USA at once, it did not modify our basic policy. The 330,000 immigrants who have been admitted under this supposedly generous law are almost all chargeable against the future quotas of the countries in which they lived.

This means that unless the present law is changed, immigration from many southern and eastern European countries will be shut off for many years in the future, with the exception of a relatively small number of specialized cases which do not come under the quota restrictions.

What can we do about our shortsighted and discriminatory immigration policy? We can do several things which should receive wide support once the problem is understood.

The very least we can do is to adapt our present annual ceiling, established in the 1920's, to our present population. This would increase total annual immigration under the present law by about 50 percent—without increasing the percentage in relation to our 1924 population. We can also eliminate from this law the ugly discrimination against people from southern and eastern Europe by scrapping national quotas and placing all applicants on an equal basis in regard to race, color, religion, and national origin. But these would still be only halfway measures.

If we mean to practice democracy as well as preach it, we must adapt our annual immigration ceiling to the world we live in. We must re-establish the USA as a haven for those who despise tyranny and bigotry, and as a land of opportunity for the many competent, vigorous people who would welcome an opportunity to build a freer and fuller life in what is still the New World.

We can make an important start toward this objective in the next few years by validating our backlog of unfilled quotas and by pooling these quotas without regard to nationality. These backlogs, particularly in the last twenty years, have been sizable.

In the early stages of the new immigration act most nationality quotas were quickly filled, with growing waiting lists in southern and eastern European countries. But in the 1930's, under the influence of the depression, immigration fell off, and in the 1940's, the war brought about additional reductions. From 1930 to 1946, the British used only 5 percent of their substantial annual quotas and the Irish used only 3 percent. The average for all countries was only 23 percent.

IN THE QUARTER CENTURY, FROM THE PASSAGE OF THE 1924 Act until 1950, only 1,500,000 immigrants actually were able to enter our country under quotas in addition to 1,200,000 immigrants mostly from Western Hemisphere countries, who were not subject to quotas under this legislation. This means that in the last 27 years a total of 2,500,000 fewer immigrants have actually come to this country under quotas set by the 1924 Act than even the sponsors of this harshly restrictive legislation had anticipated.

This cumulative backlog of 2,500,000 prospective immigrants, added to our present annual ceiling, adjusted to the 50 percent increase in our population since 1924, and spread over six years, would enable us to admit roughly 600,000 prospective new Americans each year on a democratic and nondiscriminatory basis.

Such a program could scarcely be called unreasonable. Between 1951 and 1957 it would essentially enable us to admit the total number of immigrants which the sponsors of the restrictive 1924 Act anticipated, plus a small additional number for each of the next six years to compensate for our increase in population since 1924.

This six-year program might readily form the basis of a permanent immigration policy to go into effect in 1957 when the backlog of unfilled quotas under the 1924 Act would be exhausted. I suggest an annual immigration ceiling of four tenths of one percent of our popula-

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tion from all countries not in the Western Hemisphere, with no nationality quotas. This might be higher than the more doctrinaire advocates of an ingrown and isolationist America would welcome. But I am confident that a majority of Americans would accept it as a moderate proportion.

According to our last census this would give us a total of about 640,000 immigrants annually—and that is only half the actual number that we absorbed successfully in the years just before World War I when our population was one third less than today.

What kind of people would come to the USA under such legislation? Would they be competent to make their own way, strong, law abiding, and loyal? What about the danger of Communists, Fascists, and other undesirables?

The millions who have emigrated to America from Europe in the last 100 years have gone through a process of natural selection which has kept average standards extremely high. Their descendants are not living in America today because they happened to be born here. They are here, first, because their forebears had the imagination to grasp the "American Dream" with its promise of a better life, but even more important, because they had the courage to translate their hopes and convictions into reality.

For generations, every European town, village, and city has had its scores, hundreds, thousands who looked upon the USA as an incredible dreamland in which some day they hoped to live. The far smaller number who had the actual courage and perseverance to take their families across thousands of miles of ocean to new homes in a distant country were by and large the strongest, ablest, and the most determined.

Today all over America millions of men and women—only a generation or two or three removed from their mother countries—are contributing in a hundred different ways to the healthy growth of our economic, social, and political system. While some of our older families may have tended to coast on their illustrious past, and to take democracy for granted, many of these comparative newcomers have been introducing new life and vitality into our whole American society.

The addition each year of 640,000 new Americans from overseas, carefully selected on the basis of health, character, and ability, would add further to our national reservoir of skill, imagination, and competence. And because these new citizens were chosen without regard for nationality, race or religion, they would demonstrate to the world that in the USA, democracy, now as in earlier decades, is more than a slogan.

As far as Communists and Fascists and other "undesirables" are concerned, our United States Immigration Service has developed great skill in weeding them out. Up to January 1, 1951, of the 250,000 men and women brought in under the Displaced Persons Act, only three have been deported for cause.

Let us hope that the present Congress will accept the challenge of our foolishly restrictive and discriminatory immigration laws. The time for honest, principled, democratic action is long overdue.

An Alien Speaks . . . ABRAHAM SUSSMAN

Flag of the States—
Banner of the Republic
Emblem of Democracy,
Symbol of the World to be,
I salute you!

I have a confession to make
A confession and a declaration,
Listen!

I am an Alien, that is to say, I am not legally bound to you.
Yet I have been bound to you with the fibres of my soul
Even before I knew you.
Bound to you in love, in admiration.

Believe me!

I have dreamt of you in my little Galician frontier town,
I have dreamt of you under the flag of a dying monarchy,
Under the burden of poverty, under the fear of pogroms.

I saw you in my dreams. You were floating in the stifled air that surrounded me.
At times I thought you were an illusion, a fantasy,
But a distant voice called to me and said:
"She is real, alive, somewhere . . ."

So I left the place where my cradle stood,
Where mother rocked me to sleep with her tearful lullaby,
And I wandered through lands and states
Until I reached your shores.
And I saw you, real alive—as I saw you in my dreams.

I looked at your stars and I saw a message in every one of them;
A message to me and to millions like me;
To all Americans, born and unborn.

In your stripes I read declarations, one as mighty as the other.
The declaration of Independence;
The declaration of Emancipation;
The declaration of the Rights of Labor;
The declaration of Equality and Tolerance.

I looked at you in meditation,
And I thought you were conceived by men and women of divine vision,
You were born of a holy rebellion against a tyrant,
The realization of freedom's dream.
And so you become a warning to tyrants, a hope to men.

I speak to you as millions before me did,
Men and women forgotten by fate and fortune,
The downcast and outcast of an old world.

Listen, Flag of the Nation of Nations—
I came to you, a Pilgrim in rags,
A wanderer driven by hate and need,
I came with shattered dreams, but undying hope.

I brought to you a rich heritage of ages and generations—
The divine truth of Prophets;
The spirit of sacrifice of holy martyrs;
The ballads of ancient bards, the dreams of dreamers.

I came to your shores not as a soldier of fortune,
But as your Knight Errant,
To defend you, my protector;
To share your lofty inspirations and your humane ambitions.
I came to be your adopted son.

The other day my fingerprints were taken,
They asked me if I minded, I smiled, why should I?
I have given you my heart—why not my finger-tips?

Today I am an Alien.
Tomorrow I shall be a full fledged true American.

Flag of States,
Banner of the Republic,
Emblem of Democracy,
Symbol of the World of Tomorrow
I SALUTE YOU!

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Somewhere West of Broadway

For 50,000,000 Americans there's no place like the local Little Theater. With all its difficulties and mishaps it satisfies an ancient hunger.

JOSEPH STOCKER

THE TOWN I LIVE IN, LIKE A THOUSAND OTHERS SPREAD across the whole vast reach of America, has a Little Theater.

Even as Little Theatres go, it is not very pretentious. It is housed in what used to be a stable, on a big vacant lot down near the heart of town. The stage, which creaks like the stairway of a haunted house, provides interesting but unscheduled sound effects. " . . . But, soft! (squeak) what light through yonder window breaks? (squeak-k-k) It is the east, and Juliet is the sun," (squeak-k-k, squeak-k-k).

Until rather recently the dressing rooms were located in the hay loft directly over the stage. When several players had to make a quick change midway through the scene, it sounded to the audience as though someone had thoughtlessly turned a herd of buffaloes loose on the roof.

I do not mean to convey the idea that our Little Theater is very different from any other, either in its eccentricities or its adversities. It is, I suppose you would say, a rather average Little Theater. And there, perhaps, you have the dominant quality of the Little Theater movement in America—the quality of averageness.

For this is an institution of the grassroots, in which a half million average people—bookkeepers, lawyers, millhands, mailmen, secretaries, salesgirls, and housewives—stroll every year across a thousand stages, creaking and otherwise. In so doing, they satisfy in 50,000,000 others of us west of Broadway a deep and perpetual hunger for the legitimate theater. And in themselves they satisfy that something which keeps telling them that they can do it as well as Lupino and a blamed sight better than Gable.

They do not get paid for it. They sweat for hours, learning their lines. Night after night they bolt an early dinner and hustle off to an unheated hall or a clammy schoolhouse—or a stable.

There, seeking just the proper intonation to satisfy a persnickety director, they repeat over and over, "I love you, Maurice, and I always shall," until they are ready to consign Maurice and the playwright who invented him to a peculiar hell all their own. Or humbly they sit by the hour in a dark corner backstage. There, with the patience of a pyramid, they wait for the cue which will take them onstage with a spear or a tray of teacups for their only entrance of the play.

✦

—By a western writer who is a frequent and always welcome contributor to **The Survey.** *He sends this article from his present home town, Phoenix, Arizona.*

Sometimes they put on a Class A blue-ribbon turkey. But far more often their performances are professional enough to satisfy the most exacting among us. And not infrequently we playgoers walk out into the night after the final curtain, chortling luxuriously and saying that, by golly, Bob Pollard played the old man in "On Borrowed Time" better than Lionel Barrymore himself did it in the movies.

Their equipment, at best, is often primitive. The lights may or may not go on when the switch is thrown. The curtain has a diabolical habit of getting stuck at the end of the third act, leaving the hero and heroine to unclinch and walk offstage with whatever nonchalance they can muster.

Not the least of their handicaps may be the kind laconically described by members of a Little Theater group in Nevada. "The lack of toilets," they report, "always speeds up the tempo of our last act."

But they keep going season after season, these misty-eyed spartans of the Little Theater, and every year new Little Theaters spring up all across the land. The vice president of a community playhouse in Iowa put it most aptly when she said, "Name another activity where you can get so many people to work for nothing." And, as if offering a clue to the enigma, a member of the Little Theater in Eugene, Oregon, remarked tersely: "We're all a little crazy in the head."

WHERE DID THIS ALL START? NOBODY IS QUITE SURE. ONE historian has found beginnings of the Little Theater as far back as 1800. That was the year in which the Thalian Association came into being in Wilmington, North Carolina. Its roster of performers was a distinguished one, including the governor of the state, a banker, a colonel, and five doctors. It was a strictly stag affair—no women allowed onstage. When a play imperatively called for a distaff role, a bishop served as female impersonator.

But not until after World War I did the Little Theater achieve the stature of a national institution. It was the old, old story of American improvisation—of the people far out in the hinterlands devising a substitute for something which had been taken from them. And that something was the drama.

Up to that time, the popular appetite for theater had been amply satisfied by traveling roadshows. "The Road," as it was simply called by the professionals, was a valuable adjunct to Broadway. When a play had run its six months or year on the Main Stem, it packed up and headed toward the sticks, for there was gold out there at the forks of the creek.

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Mashek and Ziegler, Phoenix

Scene painters—the unsung heroes of the Little Theater

Besides the peregrinating Broadway troupes, there were the professional stock companies, organized at the grassroots and serving the grassroots exclusively. And there was the Chautauqua, which pitched its tents on the school grounds, under a torrid summer sun, or in the grove out near the Fair Grounds, and ranged the whole broad gamut from Shakespeare to "East Lynne."

Then, rather abruptly, "The Road" shriveled up and died under the weight of ever mounting transportation and production costs. And at about the same time technology was thoughtless enough to evolve something called the motion picture camera. It had to be a sensationally successful Broadway show that ventured out into the provinces. And then, with a nervous eye on the box office, it bestowed its favors only on the big cities.

Since Broadway could not come to the people, and not many of the people could afford to go to Broadway, that left only one alternative—to provide their own. And thus America's Little Theater hit its stride.

In town after town the stage-struck gathered. Was there a hall they could use? Could they rent the high school auditorium? Who could paint a set? Design costumes? What play should they put on? Oh, goodness, no, not that one. Too much profanity.

In many a town the Little Theater had its roots in the local aristocracy.

There would be a society matron, with ample girth and a craving to fill the void left when Richard Mansfield and Minnie Maddern Fiske no longer turned up once a year to play a one-night stand and be entertained at tea. Around her she would assemble some others of similar inclination and social status. For, as a discerning novelist of the period remarked, the American matrons "met culture in bands, since they were afraid to face it alone."

Their husbands would have none of it, so they were compelled to go out into the town to fill the male roles. Then, as it sometimes transpired, our dowager heroine was chagrined to find herself faced with the choice either of casting as hero the young man who delivered her laundry, or having no play at all.

THE LADIES HAD A TENDENCY TO BE ARTY, TOO. They leaned heavily to the obscure Russian playwrights and the even more obscure local playwrights. Any young hometown genius could write a play and have it produced. One of the veterans of the Little Theater in our town recalls ruefully the time when one of these First Performances Anywhere was given, and she enticed her husband out to it. That was twenty-five years ago, and he has not been back to the Little Theater since.

Then democracy strode onstage. The butcher, baker, and toolmaker, their wives and their friends in the next block took over the Little Theater, elbowing the society matron gently aside.

They brought a practical touch to it, too. Disdaining the obscure Russians and the hometown geniuses, except on rare occasions when Art Must Be Served, they dished up the fairly old but well established Broadway hits. It was just good, solid family fare, like "Arsenic and Old Lace" or "Blithe Spirit," with an abundance of laughs and not too many "damns." And it filled the house at

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a dollar a head, made the Little Theater self-sustaining, and left enough over for an end-of-season party.

Where's our dowager, you ask? Oh, she's backstage, waiting meekly but happily to bustle on with her one line, "The mail, Madam," while she watches the lithe girl from the local department store play out the feminine lead, opposite the talented postoffice clerk.

With the end of World War II, the Little Theater got another shot in the arm. GI's who had been treated to the best that Broadway had to offer, via the USO, the American Theater Wing, *et al.*, came home with sharpened thirst. The best place to appease it was the Little Theater, which forthwith grew and prospered.

Today amateur theatricals are more popular than ever before and as integral a part of our American culture as hill-billy songs and Joe Palooka. Besides the thousand or so Little Theaters, there are literally countless smaller amateur play-producing organizations. One play publisher has estimated the total as at least 200,000 including high schools, university dramatic clubs, women's drama groups, dramatic circles, businessmen's organizations, and lodges. This means an annual box office take adding up to many millions of dollars and, of course, a very nice living for the play publishers.

MOST OF THE LITTLE THEATERS HAD HUMBLE BEGINNINGS. The amateur thespians of York, Pennsylvania, set up shop on the grassy expanse of a farmyard three miles from town. They used candles for footlights and called themselves the Candlelight Players. The Little Theater of Dover, New Jersey, rented an abandoned morgue. An old speakeasy, pockmarked by the axes of the vice squad, afforded the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Playhouse its first auditorium. And in Springfield, Massachusetts, the Little Theater, lacking anything else, hired the local burlesque house between strip tease performances. Then someone had to be stationed at the door to explain things to the bibulous gentlemen who turned up to find "Ah, Wilderness" playing instead of Margie, Queen of the Bumps.

But some of the Little Theaters, born in humility, have gone on to glory. Pasadena, California, has a Playhouse that cost $400,000 and so has Cleveland. There is a big municipally-subsidized Community Playhouse at Palo Alto, California, and a tax-supported Children's Theater to boot. Cleveland Heights, Ohio, built an elaborate and costly amphitheater at Cain Park, with a 3,000-seat capacity and an 80-foot stage, for its annual summer season of community theatricals. The whole community places itself at the service of its theater. Does the script call for a horseback rider to trot onstage in the first act? The police department sends a mounted cop. Does the theater need cleaning? Up rolls the fire department and sprays it with a hose.

Although amateur theatricals are not ordinarily the highroad to fame, fortune, and a ringside seat at Ciro's, lightning has managed to strike on a few occasions. Larry Parks and Audrey Totter are alumni of the YMCA Players in Joliet, Illinois. Henry Fonda and Dorothy Maguire graduated from the Omaha Playhouse. Olivia de Haviland started out with bit parts at Palo Alto, and Robert Young at the Pasadena Playhouse.

But, except for these fortunate few, the intrepid players of the grassroots patiently tread their boards season after season, undiscovered and unsung save by their own grateful fellow townsfolk. They go, not to Broadway or Hollywood, but back to their department store counters and postoffice windows, there to await, not an inquiring talent scout from MGM, but a notice of try-outs for the next Little Theater play.

I call them "intrepid" advisedly. For only in the Little Theater can so many things go wrong so many times, to test the resourcefulness and disposition of so many people.

The veteran play actors of our town assure me that the most unnerving experience one can have in the Little Theater—and it happens with dreadful frequency—is when the gun does not go off.

There simply is not anything that can be done about that. As one of our actors explained, still wincing at the recollection of the last time it happened to him, "It's perfectly silly to keep pulling the trigger." It leaves little choice but for the shootee to crumple, obviously unshot but conceivably the victim of some silent and wrathful deity. Or, as a local critic once summed it up in his morning-after review, "Well, we presume he stabbed her."

Firearms can be trouble-makers in other ways, too. One of our actors tells of the time when he appeared in a play which called for a dueling scene, with the combatants firing point blank at each other. They borrowed a pair of fine dueling pistols.

On opening night, five minutes before the curtain was to go up, the small son of one of the performers was prowling about backstage. He came upon the pistols, placed so they could be grabbed up quickly by the duelers.

"Daddy," he inquired brightly, "what are those things in the guns?"

"Those things," Daddy discovered with a shudder, were live cartridges. The owner of the guns had used them for target practice and forgotten to unload them.

A SENSE OF HUMOR ALSO IS AN INDISPENSABLE IMPLEMENT of the Little Theater art. It can salvage an otherwise hopeless situation, as it did when the water pipes broke one night over the heads of the audience in our rickety stable-playhouse.

The play was one in which three of the actresses were depicting blowzy, beer-drinking old ladies. When the water began to stream down upon the exposed and startled onlookers, one of the old ladies walked to the footlights and, in a shrill voice, exclaimed: "My God, if that were only beer!"

Partly to spare its patrons more discomfitures of this kind, and partly out of an understandable desire to climb to glory along with some of its contemporaries, like Cleveland and Pasadena, the Little Theater of our town is putting up a new building. It is going to be large, fancy, and commodious, and the curtain will not stick and the lights will go on when the switch is thrown.

I am happy for our Little Theater, of course, and I shall continue to patronize its plays. But I am going to miss that old stable. I am afraid I like our Little Theater just the way it is—small enough so that every seat is in the orchestra. And you can hear the familiar and reassuring squeak-k-k of the stage in the middle of Juliet's amours, and you can see the love light in Romeo's soft brown eyes.

It may be Little. But, praise heaven, it's Theater.

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IN the September *Survey*, we published a letter from Junichi Hoiden, director general of the Japan Editors' Club, asking light and leading as to how its members can join the crusade of the democracies against totalitarianism. *Survey* editors passed on the problem to *Survey* readers, offering a prize of $100 for the best reply received. The judges were Roger N. Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Pearl Buck, author; Robert E. Cushman, professor of government, Cornell University. They awarded the prize to the reply which appears below. Excerpts from some of the runners-up follow.

The Survey is sending to Tokyo not only the prize-winning letter, but all the replies received. We are sure that the Japan Editors' Club, like the *Survey* staff, will be impressed by the generous gift of time and thought the bundle represents, and that Mr. Hoiden and his associates will find many ideas and suggestions well worth their careful consideration.

The six questions posed by the Japanese editors were:

1. Please write us, briefly, your views of the Communist danger today.

2. Tell us what sort of outrageous acts by Communists there have been in the United States, if there have been any.

3. Please tell us ideas or tactics which could be used by editors and their magazines to combat communism.

4. How do you think Japan can cooperate with the Western democracies in a crusade against these Vandals of the 20th century?

5. How do the Communists appeal to the mass of the people in your country? How are they opposed, and the real gospel of freedom and humanity shown as the alternative to the communist gospel?

6. Can you recommend some slogans for an anti-Communist drive?

A Letter to Mr. Hoiden

JOHN KENNICOTT BRENTON

CORDIAL GREETINGS TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF the Japan Editors' Club, and congratulations to the people of Japan on joining the fellowship of free folk; may the blessings of freedom always be yours.

For long centuries, common men all over the earth have struggled against oppression. Sometimes oppressive conditions have resulted from tyrannical powers of despots. Sometimes they have been caused by the blind workings of economic laws which brought wealth to the few and hardship to the many. Sometimes governments have perpetuated injustices upon the mass of men or maintained inequalities as between favored and unfavored groups.

The history of the Western World is brightened with the successful struggle of the people against these injustices and inequalities. Through hard experience we have learned that there are bulwarks that safeguard basic rights of the people. We have learned that with these bulwarks strongly established and jealously maintained, common men can redress their own grievances. They can defend their interests. They can advance their cause even in the face of strongly established opposition.

The safeguards to people's action have not achieved complete justice for all groups in this country. Ignorance is still a barrier in the way of justice, and ignorance yields ground slowly. Civil rights of some minorities are still lacking full measure. There are still areas of conflict between the welfare of all the people and that of special interests. Economic growth has been so rapid that our laws and law enforcement are deficient. In this pioneer land of freedom, we have fallen short of full achievement. But we know that so long as the defenses of freedom hold, they form an adequate structure within which common men can, and one day will, gain their ends. Were they to fall, that hope would die. When they are attacked, under whatever guise, we have come to know an enemy.

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—By a midwesterner, who has held positions with relief agencies, the Red Cross, and at Hull-House, Chicago. During the war, he served with Civilian Defense and the War Relocation Authority. Mr. Brenton is now area social worker, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Billings, Montana.

Among the bulwarks that safeguard the progress of common men are:

First—The right to select their representatives in government. It is one of the foundation stones of freedom. It helps insure that our governments serve our people.

Second—The basic rights to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of peaceable assemblage. Through the exercise of these rights, the people can form opinions to guide the legislative acts of their representatives. It is true that many of the agencies of public information in this country represent groups of special interest and serve them rather than the people. In our state, Montana, only one of seven daily newspapers is free from such control. It is true that frequently the influence to which our governmental representatives respond is that of special interest groups. But it is also true that lapses in the workings of justice are still within the power of the people to correct. They measure only our lack of will, not our lack of power.

Third—The right to freedom of religion, the right of men to join together in their own places of worship, after the manner of their own choosing and without governmental interference. Exercising this right, each is free to develop his own spiritual nature.

Point 1. These basic rights and others scarcely less basic, are among the very defenses which the Red Menace would now destroy, under the fraudulent guise of "liberation." It is a new mask for the age-old effort to enslave.

The danger of Russian communism today is in its lure to the impatient, the frustrated, the demoralized, the ignorant, the overly ambitious; and in its embarrassment to liberalism by its infiltration.

Point 2. There have been no outrageous acts by communists in this country comparable to the effrontery of their aims. Their stated purpose is to tear down all the hard-won bulwarks. They would substitute a rigid control over speech, press, franchise, assemblage, religion, law. They would remove from common men every vestige of power to achieve justice. All power would reside in the few self-selected "champions" of liberation—that small group of party members who would be the real beneficiaries of the so-called "revolution." To victims of this *coup* they offer an opium dream: elimination of all injustices—not perpetrated by them; and the quick liquida-

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tion of all oppression—except that practiced by themselves. They offer no other guarantees.

The outrage of this colossal fraud, its effect upon those least capable of weighing or resisting it, the fear that it engenders, all tend greatly to hamper if not to paralyze the centuries-old progress toward more complete justice.

Reactionary forces are always alarmed by the developing expression of democracy. They charge its followers with "communism." Faint-hearted liberals are scared into abandonment of their movement. Most liberals are embarrassed at finding perpetrators of "the fraud" working in their midst. And so the causes for which they worked —the unfinished business of democracy—promotion of social justice for the minorities, further limitation upon privilege, mending of deficiencies in legal structures, all tend to atrophy. These causes are usurped by the communists and some converts are made to communism.

Point 3. The predicament of liberals must be faced. Encourage them, for they have a rich opportunity. Communism is not aligned with progress; it is the negation of it, as it is the negation of all the rights of man. Make this clear on the one hand, and promote the causes that do justice to the common man.

Communism is not deterred, but supported, through attempts to defeat liberalism. Communists do not fear other forces of oppression; they do fear the strength of liberal programs, backed by the devotion of intelligent free men, who know the inspiring story of man's march to freedom.

The story of this march shows how one by one the treasured bulwarks of self-determinism have been wrested from reluctant oppressors. The revolt of the British barons against the king's tyranny; the struggles to win the rights of men against entrenched privilege; the establishment of man's equality before the law; the right to trial by jury and to choose counsel; freedom of speech, of the press, of conscience—these victories opened the doors to progress for the humblest workman. These milestones were not easily achieved. Men were jailed, broken, killed in the struggle to win them. All the devotion of the Forty-seven *Ronin* was exemplified by many of these heroes. The story of these costly triumphs should be told until men see what victories they are so brazenly asked to forego.

The frauds of communism can be laid bare. In his Manifesto, Marx said the "movement [communism] is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." This is completely false. Nowhere has communism enlisted more than a small fraction of the population. Under communism all basic rights of common men vanish. Marx misrepresented the whole course of man's struggle when he said, "By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying." The depth of this untruth can be understood by reference to the history of those who fought over the centuries for the basic freedoms.

The liberals of Japan have opportunity, first to define specifically their aims to bring greater measure of justice to present victims of injustices and inequalities; and then to show how these aims can be won by strengthening the bulwarks of freedom. Prevent the desperation that demoralizes. Expose the unconscionable lie that by surrendering the freedoms into the vicious hands of a conniving gang, common men gain anything but utter slavery. But be sure you consider the needs of common men and not merely those of special interests. The fight against communism cannot be won by and for privileged groups.

Point 4. As a leading nation of the East, Japan can demonstrate to all Asia the power and glory of freedom. Mankind has tremendous potentialities. Under conditions of freedom these flower; under totalitarianism they wither and die. The weakness of all oppression is in the fact that slavery has only a small fraction of the efficiency of freedom. History has proved it so. Let it be proved again by the achievements of Japan.

Among your achievements must be the awakening of the will to be free—arousing men to use their power to guard their own well-being. In this you will meet the opposition of privileged groups, who often oppose democracy as vigorously as they do communism.

The liberals of Japan can cooperate with great effectiveness in the crusade for world freedom by interpreting us to ourselves. Our own movements toward social justice have, in part, bogged down, due to usurpation of the field by communists, the fear of honest men of being associated with them, and disgust at their tactics. We need the stimulus your friendly criticism can supply. What does Asia think of the exclusion of a Negro family by a white community at Cicero, Illinois? How does Asia react to the news that in Sioux City, Iowa, burial was denied a hero-soldier, solely because he had some non-Caucasian ancestry? How does news of other deficiencies in American conduct impress the Eastern mind? What are the deficiencies that are likely to cause greatest distrust of our democratic way? By such factual information our own liberal movements can be accelerated—to the defeat of communism and the strengthening of our common cause.

Point 5. The chief tactics of communists in this country have been to convert to their own purpose situations that require adjustment in human, racial, and industrial relations. They infiltrate every progressive movement. By their conduct they elbow out, discredit, and discourage honest supporters. It is apparent that to them the results of their acts are unimportant so long as they demonstrate for communism. When overtaken, they find sanctuary in the very institutions they intend to destroy. They thus doubly jeopardize our freedom by causing attacks upon its defenses.

Many social workers have first-hand knowledge of how communist tactics worked during the depression of the Thirties. Many liberals know how they work in the field of civil rights. Labor has been disrupted by them. No protest movement escapes communist taint or its destructive support. By blocking social programs, which they fear and hate, communists hope to improve their own chances to enslave. They profit by division which they have produced in our ranks.

In this country, communists are opposed by our institutions of freedom upheld by resurgence of faith. These institutions had come to be "taken for granted" by the mass of our people. History tends to gloss over, in the interest of conservatism, the viciousness with which progress has always been resisted by privilege. Recent generations have had little understanding of the price that has been paid for freedom or the long and bloody course of its attaining. Our nation was born in revolution. The bolshevik revolution was regarded by many in this country as marking a similar step for oppressed Russia. Today, it is recognized for what it is—a counter movement—a trap sprung on helpless people for the aggrandizement of a few. Our press acquaints us daily with the rapes and the murders of liberty abroad. We suffer in spirit because of the fate that

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has overtaken the forces of freedom in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries within the orbit of Moscow influence. We are sure of our path. We are determined that the fate of these unfortunate people shall not be ours.

Point 6. It is difficult to compress the facts of democratic principles into effective slogans. They are more easily applied to specific crises. To be effective, the interpretation must be in Japanese concepts. What do you say when you think of a colossal fraud that lures an unwary victim into a deadly trap from which there is no exit? We might say: "Only free men earn justice, communism enslaves."

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. . . prepare the ground . . .

JAPAN WILL LONG NEED FOREIGN AID TO OVERCOME ITS major handicaps. The density of its population is more than twice that of England if only the cultivable land is taken into account. To see this fact in its proper perspective it must be remembered that Japan has almost none of the mineral resources necessary for heavy industry. It has lost its food-producing dependencies and the greater part of its former fishing grounds.

The population is not only crowded but increases at a rate almost three times as great as before 1935 and four times as great as in the decade 1935-44. This growth, it is true, results partly from the repatriation of subjects formerly living abroad; but the natural growth of the population—the excess of births over deaths—also is exceptionally large. And the absorption of surplus population in industry is hindered by the loss, during the war, of some twelve billion dollars' worth of capital equipment, or about one fourth of all the nonmilitary assets. . . .

Yet, the empire must import more raw material and export more manufactures than ever before. It can do this only if its recent enemies will permit Japan's access to markets which many of them could well use for the sale of their own products. If their competitors are called upon to make that sort of sacrifice, Japanese industrialists will have to abandon the methods which they used before the war to force their exports on unwilling customers. . . .

The leaders of public opinion in Japan can do much to prepare the ground for the mental adjustments to the requirements of a new era. Most of them already favor birth control as the only effective means of checking overpopulation. But the reduction of the birth-rate cannot affect the pressure of population for another twenty or thirty years. Only social justice can prevent the exploitation of the resulting competition for jobs from being a continuing source of popular resistance to authority.

Yonkers, New York BRUNO LASKER

. . . a positive venture . . .

COMMUNISM THRIVES ON INJUSTICE, BUT IT WOULD SEEM that for every Communist who is sincere in his attempt to combat the injustice of the moment, there is one who would exploit it as a symbol of the "decadence" in which we live. I suggest to you that *you* fight injustice wherever it may appear, whether of the Left or of the Right.

Communism thrives on examples of prejudice and discrimination. Again, these are exploited and unfortunately presented in a fashion which makes their ultimate conquest much more difficult. . . .

Communism thrives on exploitation, poverty, bad housing, and famine. In the long run, it will thrive on hysterical abrogations of academic freedom, freedom of the press, and freedom of expression. By unceasing effort directed toward the solution of the first and the preservation of the second, the editors of Japan can assist greatly in the attainment of our common goals. . . .

Do not hold the promise of an easily attained Utopia before the eyes of your readers. Let them know that there are hardships and responsibilities associated with even more modest goals. Help them to achieve that most valuable of all attitudes toward the problems which confront them—perspective. . . .

These then are ways in which Japan can cooperate with others, not in a "crusade against communism," but in a positive venture toward democracy.

Headworker RICHARD H. P. MENDES
South Brooklyn Neighborhood House
Brooklyn, New York

By practicing democracy . . .

DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN ATTACKED BY COMMUNISM — BUT not only by communism. It is always subject to attack by every self-seeking "ism." It has been attacked by fascism, by anarchism, by capitalism, and even by a kind of Americanism that would sacrifice our freedoms in the name of independence. Many of these "isms" have tremendous appeal to people who think they can gain by them, or who don't think at all. And how do we combat them? How do we oppose dangerous thought?

By practicing democracy, Mr. Hoiden. In our faith in truth and our faith in Man we find our weapons. We believe, with Thomas Jefferson, who penned our Declaration, that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." So we who believe and who have faith use all our strength to keep reason free. Only an "ism" needs to suppress contrary thoughts because it has not the strength or the rightness to stand against opposition. We who believe are not afraid of freedom of speech and thought.

Lititz, Pennsylvania EDGAR HARE, JR.

The great danger . . .

COMMUNISM IS ONLY ONE OF MANY TOTALITARIAN SYSTEMS. In the fever of witch-hunting for communists and the hue and cry about communism, how many pseudo "democracies" can one envision!

The great danger may not be communism but the fear of it, and the ability of some totalitarian disciples to hold up a screen behind which to perfect, foster, or instigate systems bearing pretty names (with the adjective "democratic" in the foreground) . . .

Democracy is an ideal toward which to strive. Like some other ideals, it simply hasn't come to bloom yet. I think the Japanesee editors and people should strive for it with a realization that since we are not ourselves in a state of real democracy, many contradictions are apparent in our behavior; and I am thinking (1) of the occupation policies in Japan; (2) of our espousal of totalitarian Franco; (3) our belief in the atom bomb; (4) huckster propaganda. . . .

I am alarmed and frightened that under the guise of fighting communism, so much of democratic principle is being thrown overboard. I remember Hitler!

Peoria, Illinois MARY KONECNY

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Crime is a Preventable Disease

Here is a story which proves that understanding and wise guidance often can undo the harm done to boys by bad environment and problem parents.

RUTH and EDWARD BRECHER

THIS IS THE STORY OF DAVID, AGED NINE, WHO LAST YEAR lured a little girl of five up to a tenement roof and then pushed her off onto the pavement fifty feet below. It is also the story of Nate, who breaks windows and sets fires; and of Joe, who has confessed to more than fifty burglaries and thefts. But mostly it is the story of the Wiltwyck School for Boys, in the Hudson River Valley near Esopus, New York, where David and Nate and Joe and scores of other rejected, disturbed, delinquent or neglected boys from eight to twelve are being given a chance to become as useful citizens as the rest of us.

At Wiltwyck potential thugs, gangsters, and killers are welcomed with open arms, and are introduced to loving care and to decent, orderly ways of life. And parents of ordinary youngsters who are merely naughty once in a while can learn from Wiltwyck's experience.

Wiltwyck is a private institution, nonsectarian, and interracial. It was established in 1937. Its assignment is to take delinquent or neglected boys from eight to twelve—too young for the state training schools and reformatories—and give them the specialized treatment they need before it is too late.

Most private child-care institutions are careful to take as few seriously delinquent children as possible. None of them wants a destructive youngster like Nate, Wiltwyck's prize window-breaker and fire-setter. Nate, according to his bulging police record before he went to Wiltwyck, was as near to being incorrigible as a child of nine could be. He pilfered, played truant, ran away, disrupted school classes. When the mood seized him, he would walk down a neighborhood street breaking school windows, store windows, church windows, or plain house windows, a dozen at a time. He was committed to Wiltwyck by the Juvenile Court for setting fire to the clothing in his mother's closet. The fire threatened the entire block of crowded tenements. His first day at Wiltwyck he broke thirty-two windows.

"How did you punish him?" we asked Ernst Papanek, executive director of Wiltwyck.

"Before we come to punishment," Mr. Papanek replied, "let me tell you a little more about Nate."

Nate was an illegitimate child, born when his mother was fourteen. When he was still a baby his mother married another man and had two daughters. Nate's earliest memories were of being beaten by his drunken stepfather and locked in a dark closet by his mother; the little girls were coddled.

Then the stepfather drifted off, and an endless procession of other men straggled through the family flat. Nate watched his mother lavish upon these stray males the affection and caresses for which he so desperately longed. In the crowded flat, fear kept him sullen. Outside, he broke windows.

It was after a peculiarly sordid night of revelry that Nate set fire to the closet. He had not wanted to burn down the tenement. He had simply wanted to destroy the pink rayon scarf which had been a gift to his mother from her paramour of the moment.

Clearly it was the mother, we decided, who deserved to be punished. But was it?

Nate's mother also had been an illegitimate baby, cast off by her mother, and left to the care of a strait-laced grandmother who was convinced that to spare the rod was to spoil the child.

Nate's mother began to run away when she was six. It is hardly surprising that at thirteen she ran away for good, or that at fourteen she bore Nate to an unknown father, or that at twenty-three she was available to almost any man who offered her a gift instead of a blow—or that she was totally unable to give Nate the affection he craved.

"Suppose Nate had been left to his own devices," Ernst Papanek remarked. "It is easy to anticipate the neglect and cruelty he would some day have inflicted upon his own wife and children.

"It is Wiltwyck's task to break the awful cycle of frustration in childhood followed by criminal retaliation and the siring of another tragic generation. Of course not all boys are as profoundly disturbed at Nate. Some need temporary separation from even good homes for much less serious reasons."

STROLLING THROUGH THE 260 ACRES OF ROLLING WOODLAND and meadows which comprise the Wiltwyck "campus," you might be reminded of a good preparatory school. There is no wall or fence. It was a famous English penologist who said, "It is impossible to train men for freedom in a condition of capitivity." Moreover, a child who is helped to curb his urge to run away has taken a long step toward readjustment to society. After a while the urge itself dies out.

The boys at Wiltwyck are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. They work in carpentry and machine shops and the art studio and the gym. They get a good deal of remedial-reading instruction. They go fishing in the

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—By a husband-and-wife writing team who contribute articles to a number of magazines. They hail from Leonia, New Jersey. This is their first Survey *appearance.*

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Wiltwyck brook, enjoy "cookouts" in the woods and go on overnight hikes. They pass Cub Scout "achievements" and earn Boy Scout merit badges. Wiltwyck's basketball team plays the other neighborhood teams and last year won the Ulster County championship.

While they are learning and playing and working, the boys are experiencing something they have never known: acceptance as welcome members of a community with honorable traditions. Here Nate is no longer an outcast, who must vent his rage and frustration by breaking windows. He is a member of a group or "gang" in which respect and prestige are earned in normal, socially acceptable ways. This recognition of the "gang" as a normal factor in children's development lies at the heart of Wiltwyck's philosophy.

Take the problem of cruelty in children, for example. A few years back, one big, domineering newcomer soon had many of the boys following in his footsteps. When he picked up a cat and flung it into the fire, the other boys joined him in laughing uproariously. There followed a minor epidemic of cruelty, in which the boys vied with one another in inventing ways to torment animals.

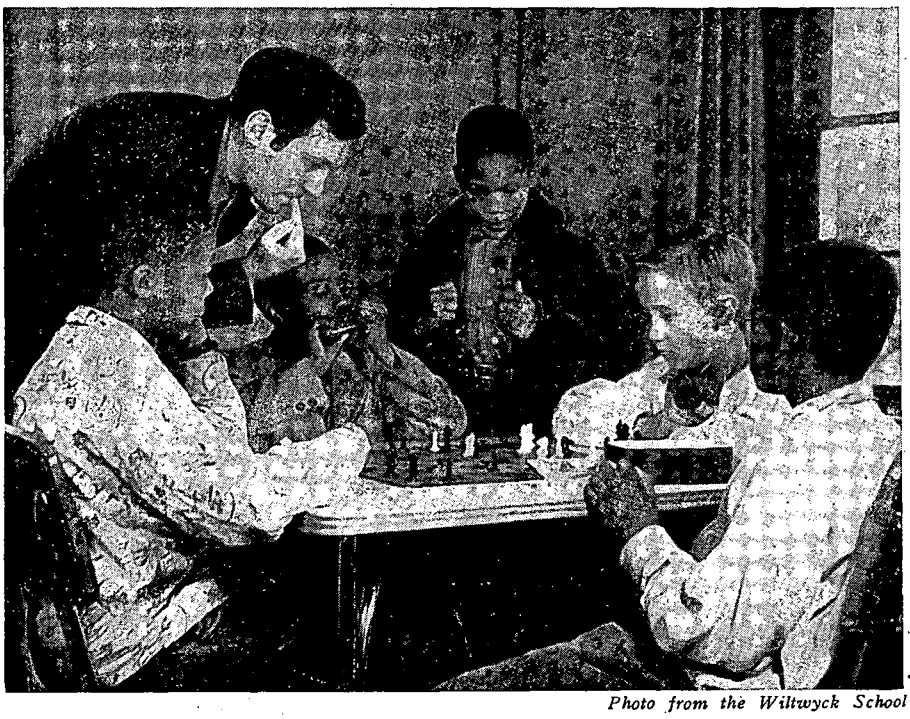

Photo from the Wiltwyck School

A counselor joins the boys in planning a strategic move

By the time we first came to know the school, all this had changed. One afternoon, a boy named David introduced us to "Butch," the clean-scrubbed mongrel who was currently the favorite among Wiltwyck's pets. There was affection in David's manner as he told us about the "dog with the weekly allowance." Each boy receives a 25-cent weekly allowance. David explained that they had recently ganged up on Mr. Papanek with a demand that Butch, as a member of the community, should receive the same allowance as anybody else. David was chairman of a committee elected to see that Butch's allowance was spent for the bones, balls, and other things that Butch wanted or needed.

The cruelty epidemic was considered at a Wiltwyck staff conference. The counselors did not hide their disapproval. But at the same time they showed the boys how to make friends with animals, how to train the dogs to heel, shake hands, and lie down—to train them without cruelty. The ability to win the friendship of an animal thus became an accomplishment of which a boy could be proud. From counselors whom they respected, the boys learned the proper way to treat weak and helpless animals as readily as they had learned techniques of cruelty from their earlier hero of the moment.

New boys steadily enter the Wiltwyck "gang" as old boys leave it to return to the city. Rarely does a boy stay more than two years. But the gang, with its attitudes and traditions, continues uninterruptedly. And that is the key to the secret of Wiltwyck. The boys themselves—those delinquent, perverse, "bad" boys—become the chief factor in civilizing the new boys. At many correctional institutions, boys learn from one another whatever criminal patterns they have failed to learn earlier. At Wiltwyck the opposite is true. The boys pass along their virtues instead of their vices. Wiltwyck makes a deep impression on its students, and many return for visits long after they have "graduated." Last spring forty-five boys who were receiving Wiltwyck after-care were invited to return for the summer vacation. To everyone's surprise, twenty-five of the eligible boys accepted the chance to return—something unheard of in the history of correction institutions.

As soon as he arrives at Wiltwyck each boy is assigned to a social worker, who may be a man or a woman. The caseworker is the boy's one unconditional friend. A boy may be in disrepute with his companions; he may have committed the most awful breaches of good behavior; he may feel that he is at odds with the whole world. But regardless of his past sins and present shortcomings, every Wiltwyck boy knows that he retains the friendship and concern of at least one person, his caseworker.

From that first day the boy's caseworker works to prepare for his release. He visits the parents frequently and tries to prepare them for the boy's return. Working with parents in an effort to eliminate the factors which were responsible for the boy's delinquency in the first place is not easy, and it is not always successful. But in a limited number of cases quite a lot can be accomplished. One example is the mother of Jock, whose father was killed while holding up a store. She had completely lost her grip on both Jock and his younger brother. Convinced that Jock was like his father, "bad clean through," she gave up and let Jock and his younger brother run wild in the streets, day and night.

Jock's mother resented the first visits of his caseworker but was encouraged when she heard that her wild brat had made a good beginning. Soon she was questioning the social worker closely on Jock's progress, sending Jock cookies she had baked herself, and displaying with pride the metal bracelet Jock had hammered out for her. By

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the time Jock was ready for home, his home was ready for him.

Not all Wiltwyck stories have such a satisfactory ending. Frequently foster homes must be found for the boys; too often none is available, and they must be sent back to the same unhappy environment.

The saddest cases are those where the boys reach out gropingly to mothers or fathers for love and affection and never receive more than callous contempt. As we entered the school ground on a Sunday afternoon, a boy was standing idly near the bus stop, dull misery in his expression.

"Bob spends each weekend lurking at that corner, waiting for his mother," says Papanek. "His mother isn't coming. She won't ever come. She's married now, and hopes she'll never hear of Bob again.

"On Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays Bob is a good student and a decent fellow. He is one of 'The Quiet Ones' about whom the documentary film of that title was made here at Wiltwyck. On Fridays he seems uneasy. Saturdays and Sundays he spends at the corner. On Mondays there is usually trouble. One Monday he ran away. Another Monday he beat up a smaller boy.

"We haven't found the answer, but we still hope to help Bob face the fact that his mother has rejected him. In time perhaps he'll be able to look forward to the day when he will head a happy family of his own."

FIFTY YEARS AGO THE ACCEPTED INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT for the child thief was twofold. First, you locked the child up tight in a reformatory under quasi-military discipline, so that there was a minimum of opportunity for stealing, in an attempt to form "orderly habits." Second, you punished each slip from grace by whipping, or solitary confinement. Studies by the Gluecks in Massachusetts and by many others showed that in a majority of cases children who had been institutionalized as delinquent fell afoul of the law again, and again, and again. Graduates of the traditional reformatories of those days filled Sing Sing and Alcatraz to overflowing.

At Wiltwyck, when boys steal they are not beaten. They are not punished or even scolded or criticized, a technique likely to build up the very anatagonism between child and society which Wiltwyck seeks to remove.

"But if you don't punish at all," we asked, "how can you impress upon a child that it's wrong to steal?"

"By letting the child face the true consequences of his own acts," Papanek replied. "Let me give you an example.

"The children, as you know, run their own canteen. They elect their own officials, and it was Tony they elected to handle the canteen finances. Tony hadn't been on the job more than a week when we became aware that he was stealing from the cash box.

"Soon the youngsters themselves noticed that there wasn't as much money in the cash box as there should have been. Suspicion centered on Tony, and a day or two later the boys caught him in the act of filching a quarter. Now the boys demanded that I remove Tony from the canteen committee. I called in Tony, and then asked the boys in his presence why they wanted him ousted. Their spokesman explained that the canteen would go broke if money was stolen, and then there would be no place to buy candy and pop. Tony pleaded for one more chance. But the boys were adamant, and Tony was removed from the canteen committee.

"The important point is that Tony wasn't being punished by an external authority for breaking the law. Rather, he learned that one of the consequences of stealing is the distrust of your community. This is what we mean by consequences, not punishment. Its principle is applicable to children in ordinary homes as well as to delinquents in institutions."

"What else does Wiltwyck's experience have to teach ordinary parents of ordinary youngsters?" we asked Mr. Papanek.

"Let me sum it up in four small suggestions and one big one," he replied.

"The first is a commonplace to most parents. Try to understand your youngsters, and to deal with their *motives* instead of their *symptoms*. If your child is naughty, stop and think why he is naughty and do something about that rather than about the naughtiness itself.

"Second, try to establish a home atmosphere in which a child faces *consequences* rather than *punishment*. A boy required to clean and sharpen a tool which has been carelessly left out in the rain will get the point much better than if he were deprived of a movie as punishment.

"Third, if you find your child's behavior is deteriorating and you don't know what to do about it, by all means get help. Frequently reasons for a child's badness which you are too close to see clearly can be detected by skilled outsiders. A child-guidance clinic, a schoolteacher or social worker, a pediatrician, family physician or psychiatrist may open your eyes to the underlying causes and save you from groping in the dark.

"Fourth, don't expect your home to do the whole job. Children need a life of their own outside the home. They need what only a 'gang' of their own age can give them—a bridge from sheltered family life to adult independence. Sports, scouts, camps, and impromptu neighborhood play groups can all fill this basic need.

"But more important than these suggestions is the simple admonition: Love your children, and accept them even when they are being 'bad'—or, rather, especially when they are being bad, for their badness is almost certainly a sign that they need your love and affection then and there. More children reach the juvenile court and Wiltwyck because they have been rejected and deprived of affection than for all other reasons put together. I firmly believe that the same is true of the far less serious peccadilloes of ordinary children."

WE THOUGHT ABOUT THAT AS WE WALKED TO THE BUS stop and saw Bob, the "quiet one," seated at the roadside idly picking up handfuls of dust and letting it slip through his fingers, still waiting for the bus to bring the mother who would never come. And we thought of it, too, as we said good-bye to a manly little lad whose specialty is fixing broken windows.

This boy is the star pupil in Wiltwyck's carpentry shop. Whenever a window is broken or a doorknob needs fixing, he is sent for. He's going "home" next week, to a foster home which may give him the acceptance and respect his own mother could never supply. For the young window-fixer is Nate, the little boy who broke thirty-two windows his first day at Wiltwyck, just two years ago.

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School for the Gifted

In the handling of young geniuses, this elementary school is adding to our knowledge of what all children of freedom need and deserve.

LEW ARTHUR

In September, the Elementary School of New York City's Hunter College, the only public school in the USA devoted to budding Shakespeares, Pasteurs, and Edisons, opened its doors for its twentieth term.

Hunter Elementary specializes in educating children of unusual promise. Its student body consists of 450 of New York's brightest children. They are well behaved and happy youngsters, too—much the sort every mother dreams her infant Johnny and Joan will be.

Because of its high concentration of superior mentality, Hunter Elementary has been called a school for genius. Perhaps this appraisal is not too extravagant. The pupils, ranging in age from four to eleven, have an average I.Q. of over 150—a one-in-a-thousand possibility. One child rolled up an entrance score of 203, just two points below that of Einstein. Run-of-the-mill pupils score the required minimum of 130.

No group would seem to have a monopoly on brains. Hunter's gifted children are of both sexes and diverse races. Twenty-three national backgrounds are today represented in the school. At one time or another, the school has had children of forty-five national origins and faiths.

HCES is exclusive in the best sense. Out of thousands of applicants from New York's richly varied population, about seventy-five children are accepted each year. Superior intelligence—result so far as we now know solely of the genetic chance—is the chief qualification.

The Elementary School, founded in September 1941 with a flexible experimental program, is maintained tuition-free under the direction of the Board of Higher Education and the president of Hunter College, a municipal institution. One of its important functions is to serve as a practice and observation school for student teachers, psychologists, and others engaged in research connected with child development. In a world critically in need of enlightened leadership, the work of the model school is significant.

Tests given to 15,000,000 draftees called up during World War II revealed that many gifted men were not earlier identified as such. James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard, stated recently that native talent is being wasted in the way that soil erodes: by neglect.

Dr. Conant quoted studies showing that about 1 percent of the school population is greatly endowed and 10 percent so gifted as to justify a high degree of training. He warned that the country was in danger of losing the contributions of the specially endowed by failing to detect and help develop their talent early in their school careers.

There is no such danger at Hunter where children are enrolled in the nursery school at the age of three or four, after qualifying in I.Q. and other tests.

✦

—By a free-lance writer in New York City, who knows at first hand the outstanding educational project of which he writes.

The principal and director of the model school, Florence N. Brumbaugh, is a pleasantly matter-of-fact woman. Not long ago I talked with her in her office. She flatly contradicted the popular notion that the precocious child is a pale, remote eccentric. Typically gifted children, she said, are more robust and athletic and better adjusted socially than are "average" children.

Two little girls—twins—came into the principal's office. "Good morning, Dr. Brumbaugh," they said with friendly enthusiasm. "We brought you something."

The children handed the principal a rabbit and a pussycat made of colored pipe cleaners, carrying affectionate little notes.

"How sweet!" exclaimed Dr. Brumbaugh. "Thank you."

I asked the children their age.

"Six years, eight months, and a few days," said Jane, who was a shade smaller than her twin, Jill. They were in their third year at HCES, having started in nursery school.

"What did you do this morning?" I asked Jill.

"We played games with the boys on the terrace, but they started to hurt each other. Once they made a little girl cry. One boy almost choked me."

"Did you choke him back?"

"No."

"Why didn't you?"

"He would do it back again," Jill replied.

When the twins left the office to return to class Dr. Brumbaugh, silver-haired and smiling, commented that Hunter School pupils scored higher in reasoning than in computation skills. I asked her to explain.

"Bright children have better potential ability than many adults," she said. "They generalize better and think in more original terms. But take a subject like arithmetic—they're in a great hurry to get to the next problem and prefer not to check and double-check. This results in common errors which bring the children down a peg from their usual high level."

Calculating machines have been used experimentally in the school's arithmetic classes in order to stress accuracy. While half the class takes turns with the calcu-

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lators, the other half works with pencil and paper to check the results.

"The children have improved their drills to such an extent that they come close to the top performance of the machines," Dr. Brumbaugh told me.

"What about the problem of discipline?"

"Practically nonexistent. We have the usual boy-girl rivalries—the battle of the sexes, you might say," the principal explained. "Girls are generally more mature than boys of the same age and the boys claim they're not sympathetic. It's nothing very serious. The children are too busy with their own level of things to learn and do. It's the bright child with not enough to do who has behavior kinks."

MANY SCHOOLS ACCELERATE OR SKIP THEIR BRIGHT YOUNGsters. But there is a danger that too rapid promotion will cause emotional maladjustments where physical growth does not keep pace with mental development. At the Hunter School, the children are kept together chronologically. This avoids the problem of the bright child who is left out of the activities of the older and usually bigger children—his academic equals but his physical superiors.

The Hunter curriculum follows the course of study of the New York City public schools as a minimum requirement. In addition, there is an "Enrichment Program," which gives the pupils a broader field of studies. The school, however, puts emphasis on social and cultural development rather than the purely academic.

The directors feel that while it is cause for rejoicing if the child can play leap frog with the binomial theorem or discuss contrapuntal composition, it is even more important for him to know how to get along with his fellow humans. That is an art that the exceptional child, like his less talented brothers in the public and private schools of the nation, must acquire.

One teacher explains it this way: "Intellectually and artistically endowed children are not a species apart. They are American children, superior in some aspects to the average population, but still very much part of it. They have to live in a world of mixed people—superior, normal, inferior, good, bad, and indifferent—and they have every right and more need to be prepared for that than for calculating the curve of a parabola."

The principal factor in Hunter's development of well rounded personalities is the close rapport between parents and the elementary school faculty. Parents are invited to weekly conferences with the staff to discuss the children's progress. Many public schools allow only a week a year—"Open School Week"—for such visits.

Hunter parents are likely to be seen at the school more than once a week. They assist in the library and lunchroom, and have helped develop the school's popular audio-visual "enrichment" program.

The program is integrated with the children's studies in the natural and physical sciences, the arts, vocational guidance, social studies, and sports. This year's subject, "Great in Spite of Handicaps," was chosen by the children. It deals with people who "thought great thoughts and fought great fights and did great services to humanity." Included are Charles P. Steinmetz, Helen Keller, Sarah Bernhardt, Florence Nightingale, Booker T. Washington, George W. Carver, Babe Ruth, and "The Two Roosevelt Boys Who Became Presidents."

Hunter teachers, unlike those of the city school system who are appointed from municipal civil service lists, are chosen according to special personal qualifications. Each holds a state teaching license. While, obviously, they must be sympathetic with the needs of bright children, they must also have the ability to treat their pupils objectively, naturally, without fuss or fanfare.

The model school teachers learn to see the class as a whole. Overfond parents sometimes see only their Billy or Barbara. Yet Hunter's children as a group are reasonably unselfconscious about the fact that they attend the only school in the country devoted to high intelligence.

The mother of one Hunter Elementary child overheard this conversation between her seven-year-old boy and a friend.

"Where do you go to school?" asked the seven-year-old.

"Public School number So-and-So," replied his frie

"*I* go to Hunter Elementary."

"Is that a *special* school?"

"You bet! We have a subway entrance right in building!"

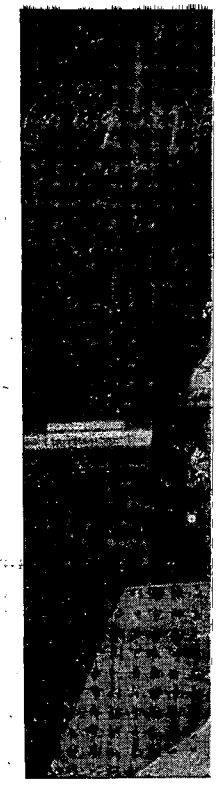
Dr. Braumbaugh comments:

"We must build up rather than bring down their because the children don't compare themselves with peers, with the superior children of their group. Ra they compare themselves with famous people th studied or read about. They frequently say, 'We can n be like them.' They are quick to recognize superi of classmates and are generous in their praise of sp talents."

When the children graduate they go on to the junior high or private schools. Dr. Brumbaugh mates that about one third enter private schools, som full scholarships. One Hunter Elementary graduate chosen to study at the University of Chicago Prepar School, another at a famous New England school. Brumbaugh's records show that the children mai their high scholastic and honor records as well a avid interest in sports. Some Hunter graduates special talent in addition to their academic ability gone on to New York's High School of Music and High School of Science, or High School of Perfor Arts.

VISITING THE CLASSES, THE WRITER WAS IMPRESSED Hunter Elementary's relaxed and sensible atmos in which a balance between freedom and control is n tained. Critical thinking and objectivity are encou on the principle that free inquiry leads to truth an velops natural responsiveness. The motto of the s might well be: "Know the truth."

In a class of ten-year-olds a discussion was in pro about papers to be written. Among the subjects sel



Two youth

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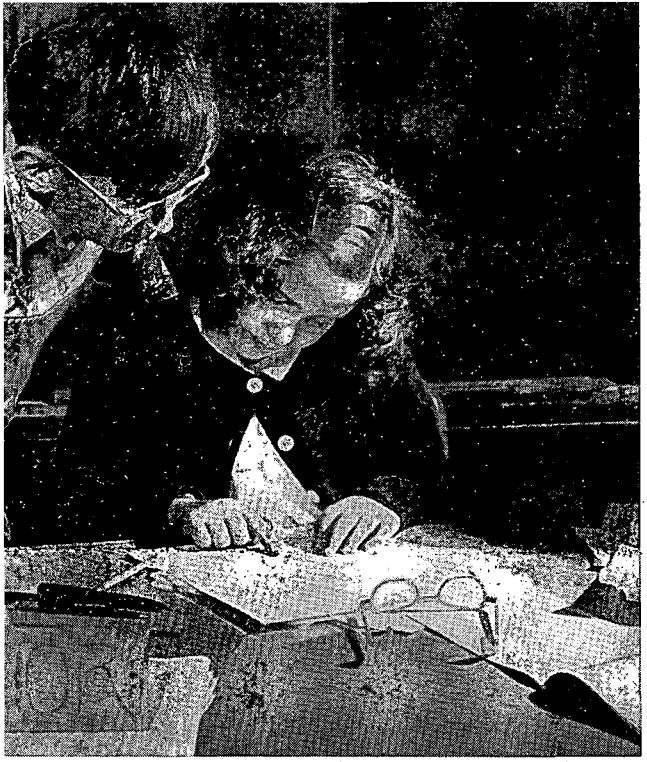

Photo by Newman from Three Lions

school paper, *The Trumpet,* scan a reporter's feature story

Sir Walter Raleigh, the hydrogen bomb, the Far
rn situation, Galileo. The class planned to do their
research in the school library which is well-stocked
encyclopedias, reference books, and current reports
periodicals.

t school is not the children's whole world. They
to know what is going on around them. These
ren take trips to Grand Central Station, LaGuardia
, the water front, the courts. They observe experi-
s in the Hunter College science laboratories, the as-
ly line at an auto factory, the animals in Central
Zoo.

r their paper, *The Trumpet,* the ten-year-olds inter-
ed the school's elevator operator, the subway watch-
the corridor guard, their teachers, and the president
Hunter College.

ı "Extra" appearing on page one of a recent issue of
Trumpet shows the very personal interest the pupils
in their teachers. The Extra: "Miss Gambaro is
coming back to Hunter College Elementary School
Mrs. Rini is."

ge 5 carried the story, with this headline: "TEACHER
MARRIED."

ınter children's social responses are highly developed.
' concern themselves not only with the wedding of
of their teachers but also with contemporary world
s, displaying a mature outlook desperately needed
ıese days.

ıll the Hunter Elementary children grow up to be
well-integrated citizens and leaders their early apti-
indicates? Just how well do gifted children turn

the HCES program is only ten years old, having
n with preschool children who are now in high
ol, it is as yet too early to predict the specific contri-
ıns the school's brilliant alumni might be expected
ake to their generation. To judge from the classic
' of Dr. Lewis M. Terman, the pupils' contributions
ıot likely to be modest.

In the early 1920's, a staff of investigators headed by Dr. Terman, a psychologist internationally famed for his pioneer work in intelligence-testing, sifted a quarter of a million California school children and selected 1,400 of the brightest for study.

After twenty-five years on their long range investigation of intelligence, Terman and his associates found that exceptional children, given the needed "book learning" and specialized training, distinguished themselves in the professions as well as in all other areas of the world's work. Terman's 1,400 gifted individuals are now outstanding doctors, lawyers, psychiatrists, playwrights, teachers, businessmen, religious and community leaders.

It was once popularly believed that you could not have a Tchaikovsky, Van Gogh, or Poe unless the genious were at the same time a neurotic or psychopathic personality. While in some cases the achievements of ill-balanced geniuses may be heightened by compensatory drives, such cases are exceptions. As a rule, personal integration is essential to substantial achievement.

"More often than not," Dr. Terman summed up, "the true intellectual is a solid, practical person."

Psychologists have found that only a small percentage of high I.Q. children have any specific talent such as painting or composing. But some of Hunter's boys and girls are highly creative and possessed of lively imaginations.

Eleanor, an eight-year-old, tells a bedtime story about a family of cats:

"It was a funny sight to see them walking to school with a lunch of fresh rat, and it was nice to see them come home chattering away happily. When they got in the house, they would play a game of chess and go to sleep. Now you go to sleep too."

Another of Eleanor's stories has a character called Benny the Beagle, "who could walk or talk as well as you or I, but no one knew it."

Hunter children are observant.

Two girls who interviewed the four-year-olds of the nursery school found that "the boys specialize in being cowboys."

They have youth's natural sense of curiosity and like to satisfy it. An eight-year-old boy reported to his class on the brain and brought some calf brains to illustrate his lecture.

They are imbued with a real sense of democracy. This essay on brotherhood by one of the children is typical of their attitude:

"God made us all with the same rights, so whether you are Negro or white you have the same rights as anybody else.

"America recognizes this in her Declaration of Independence which states that 'All men are created equal.' Later, President Lincoln proclaimed at Gettysburg 'This nation is dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.'

"If we want a better world of tomorrow it is up to us to live these ideas of equality."

If the goal of education is to develop human beings capable of enjoying a more abundant measure of life, liberty, and happiness, the Hunter experiment is outstanding in its success. Its program is significant not alone as a guide to the better education of exceptional children, but for the proper education of all children in a free society.

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Milestones in Social Work

The highlights of two recently completed studies, expected to have far-reaching influence on the future development of social work.

JOSEPH P. ANDERSON

ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST two decades has been the increased understanding and recognition of the value of social services and a greater acceptance of them in community life. The depression, the second World War, and the present period of defense mobilization have underscored the fact that if we are to deal effectively with individual and community problems, we must enlarge our programs of community health and social services, and we must make social services available to all economic groups.

Several trends reflect these developments. The first is the tremendous expansion in public social services during the past fifteen years. A second is the variety of new settings and auspices, for example, the establishment of social work classifications in the Armed Forces; the use of social workers in military hospitals, mental hygiene clinics, consultation centers, and disciplinary barracks, in industrial and union counseling programs, and in international relief and rehabilitation.

Still another trend is the development of a constructive relationship between social work and other professions, and the increasing emphasis on the "team approach," in hospitals, clinics, schools, and courts as well as in the traditional social agencies.

A final trend is the average citizen's increasing interest in the social agency and particularly in the role of the professional social worker. These developments have focused attention upon the recruitment, training, and placement of social work practitioners and on the economic status of social workers.

To find answers to questions which have been perplexing both the social work field and the groups on whose support social work must rely, two significant studies have been made during the past two years. The first is the National Survey of Salaries and Working Conditions in Social Work, conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, and to be published this fall under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers; the second, a study of social work education, will be brought out this fall by the Columbia University Press under the title, "Social Work Education in the United States." Both studies were made under the auspices of the National Council on Social Work Education, with the National Social Welfare Assembly joining in sponsorship of the salary survey.

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—By the executive director of the American Association of Social Workers, the professional organization concerned with the setting and maintenance of standards in social work practice.

The purpose of the BLS survey was twofold; to determine salaries and working conditions in various work programs and, further, to discover the educational background of those in social work positions, and the length and character of their experience. A broadly representative National Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of Fred K. Hoehler, director of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare, assisted the Bureau of Labor Statistics in planning the survey.

The Federal Security Agency accepted responsibility for the collection of data from personnel in the public assistance and public child welfare programs, who comprise 45 percent of the personnel in social work. All other personnel received questionnaires directly from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Special mention should be made of the contribution of the state and local public welfare departments and of the community chests and councils, particularly in the larger communities in compiling the names of social workers to whom questionnaires could be sent.

The names of some 38,000 social workers finally were assembled. From this list the BLS selected a sample of approximately 20,000 names, to which questionnaires were sent. Over 17,000 persons responded. About 34,000 social workers in state public assistance and child welfare agencies were covered by that portion of the survey conducted by the Federal Security Agency. This is the first such comprehensive national survey in the history of social work in the United States.

For the purpose of the survey, a social worker was defined as any full time person in a social work position whether professionally trained or not, and whether publicly or privately employed.

ON THE BASIS OF PRELIMINARY TABULATIONS OF THE data, the Bureau reports that state, county, and local governments employ over 62 percent of the nation's social workers; private agencies, 35 percent; the federal government, not quite 3 percent. Public assistance is the largest in terms of employment with nearly four times as many social workers as any other program.

Analysis of the salary data for 1950 brought out the following: women, nearly 70 percent of the profession, earned an average annual salary of $2,800. This was somewhat less than the $2,960 average for all social workers. Men in social work positions received an average annual salary of $3,430. Caseworkers and group workers (60 percent of the total) received an average annual salary of $2,730; supervisors in these fields, $3,610. Social workers carrying executive responsibilities averaged

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$3,700. Other workers in such activities as teaching, research, and consultation, received on the average, $3,710.

The federal government paid the highest salaries for all positions, with the annual average ranging from $4,000 for caseworkers and group workers to $5,880 for those engaged in teaching, research, and consultation. Social workers in private social agencies received about $1,000 less than those employed by the federal government. Lowest salaries were found in the state, county, and local agencies where the average ranged from $2,690 for caseworkers and group workers to $3,690 for researchers and consultants.

Regional salaries were highest in the Pacific states—$3,320; and the lowest in the southeastern states—$2,490. In all other regions the range was between $2,690 and $3,050. The survey indicates that regions with the largest proportion of social workers to population paid the highest average salaries.

Data on education revealed that two thirds of those employed in social work positions are college graduates, about half of them with some graduate work. Those employed by the federal government, the most highly paid, also are the most highly educated. About 90 percent of these reported a baccalaureate degree and almost all of those had had postgraduate education. In the state, county, and local positions, where average salaries were found lowest, about three out of five social workers held college degrees and less than half had some graduate work. When detailed work on the data is completed, the study will provide a sound foundation for programs to improve salaries and working conditions in the profession.

DURING THE PAST DECADE, IT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY clear that the total supply of qualified social work practitioners must be increased if growing community health and welfare services are to be adequately manned. The study of salaries and working conditions revealed that only half of those engaged in social work had any professional education, while less than 20 percent had completed a full course of postgraduate training. The acute shortage of professionally educated social workers and the expanding services of the past decade have resulted in the employment of large numbers of untrained college graduates and, in some instances, even high school graduates by public and voluntary agencies. This has prompted some administrators and educators to urge at least as a temporary expedient the establishment of recognized undergraduate courses, a proposal sharply at variance with the standards advocated by the professional associations and by the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

Realizing, however, that the question requires thoughtful study, the AASSW, the National Association of Schools of Social Administration, and the professional organizations, in August 1946 organized the National Council on Social Work Education. As its first project the Council decided to sponsor a comprehensive study of the objectives, content, and nature of social work education, and the needs of social work practice—actual and potential—in the rapidly changing scene. The study was designed to develop a comprehensive framework within which accrediting bodies, schools of social work, practitioner organizations, and employing agencies could achieve a working agreement as to what constitutes acceptable programs of social work education for the immediate present and for the future.

To plan the study, Irene Farnham Conrad, chairman of the Council, appointed a Technical Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of the late Kenneth L. M. Pray, who was succeeded by Harriett Bartlett. Other committee members were: Jane Hoey, Donald S. Howard, Ernest Harper, and Wilbur I. Newstetter. Sue I. Spencer and the writer gave staff services. The study was made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. As director, the Council named Dr. Ernest B. Hollis, chief of college administration in the Office of Education, with Alice L. Taylor, training consultant in the federal Bureau of Public Assistance, as assistant director.

LIKE THE SURVEY OF SALARIES AND WORKING CONDITIONS, this study had to have the cooperation and support of national and local public and voluntary agencies. It necessarily reflects the thinking of many social workers and educators.

The study can be divided into two sections. The first considers the foundations for educational planning including the history and development of social work education, the status of social work today, and its probable role in the future.

The second part deals with the organization and content of undergraduate and graduate professional education in social work. There is also a discussion of the administration of schools of social work; the responsibilities of membership organizations and employing agencies; and a recommendation regarding the accreditation of schools of social work. This section is of outstanding significance to social workers and educators. It emphasizes the fact that professional preparation must rest on a strong undergraduate foundation. Further, postgraduate training must be continued through staff development programs carried on by employing agencies.

The study reviews the dual responsibilities of the undergraduate colleges in offering courses of social work education, first, to identify the major concepts of social welfare common to the cultural heritage of all college students; and, second, to organize a sequence of study in the arts and sciences designated for graduate professional study. To formulate concepts and develop teaching materials for undergraduate students will require long, intensive effort, but this task should have high priority in the profession.

The study also emphasizes the need for all professions to assume responsibility for improving the character and quality of the general education of their prospective practitioners. It suggests cooperative study by representatives of several professions aimed at greater understanding of concepts which underly more than one field.

In discussing graduate training, the study urges further progress in the already increasing trend toward a basic curriculum for nonspecialized social workers. It defines three major issues calling for serious consideration by social work educators or practitioners:

1. The place of social casework in the curriculum as related to a broadened concept of social work;

2. Field work teaching, which, starting as apprentice-

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ship, has not as yet made the transition to instruction at a professional level;

3. The need for greater emphasis on research in the educational institutions offering professional social work training.

The study points out that progress in social work education is necessarily geared to the stage of social work theory and practice. An important recommendation is that the profession give immediate consideration to the study of social work practice to determine its essential character and to fix standards of competence for its practitioners.

Finally, the study defines several important principles of accreditation for social work education. Consideration of such principles, together with the growing conviction that sound programs of professional education must depend on the interest and support of the whole social work community, has led to action toward a strengthened Council on Social Work Education. This Council, which will replace existing organizations in the field, will be composed of representatives of graduate and undergraduate institutions as well as social work membership organizations, employing agencies, and the general public. When this Council is established, we shall have for the first time a single unified organization to deal not only with accreditation but also to carry on activities directed to the planning and organization of sound schemes of undergraduate and graduate social work education.

THESE TWO STUDIES ARE MILESTONES OF UNUSUAL SIGNIFICANCE to the social work profession. Their completion is a clear indication of the willingness of all members of the social work community to work together to achieve the common goal of raising the standards of social work practice, and it reflects a growing sense of unity in the field. These projects represent fruitful cooperation between public and voluntary agencies on national, state, and local levels, between educational institutions and professional organizations, all of which share a concern for improving social services to people.

The Tyranny of Fear

The thought control of dictatorships is imposed by force, but discussion, criticism, and debate can be stifled by fear as well as by force. Persecution by public opinion can be as powerful as purges and pogroms. School teachers, government clerks, government officials and even businessmen can be frightened out of their rights under the First Amendment as effectively as if that Amendment were repealed; and frightened men are at best irresponsible in their actions and at worst dangerous. Of all the forms of tyranny over the mind of man, none is more terrible than fear.

Of late, some of our people—often good people—have been blindly spreading just this kind of fear. In their zeal to combat communism they have been betrayed into using methods and measures which impair the sources of our strength and thus play directly into the hands of the Kremlin. They are making criticism socially dangerous. They are forcing conformity through fear. . . . They are ready to pillory anyone who holds an unpopular view or supports an unpopular cause. As a result, too many of our fellow citizens have been afraid to speak out. In far too many cases, decisions, often decisions in high places, have been influenced by fear. In short, the danger of Communist penetration and disruption has been compounded by the spread of panic. All of this in a nation which has grown to greatness and glory because it has recognized the rights of non-conformists and dissenters!

If we want to assert the free nature of man and strengthen our free society, we must insist that within the law of libel and slander, the unlimited right to criticize must be maintained. This right is meaningless unless it extends to the thoughts with which we disagree—in the words of a great Chief Justice of the United States, freedom for the thought we hate. I, for example, disagree most intensely with the *Daily Worker's* tagging of every opponent as a Fascist. I also disagree intensely with those who make reckless charges of Communist sympathies. But I would not for a moment suppress these irresponsible critics. They must not be suppressed. They must be answered.

—Paul G. Hoffman *at the tenth anniversary celebration of Freedom House*

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On the Labor-Management Front

JOHN A. FITCH

THE ACTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR last August in withdrawing from the United Labor Policy Committee remains something of a mystery. This was the committee set up in December 1950 to deal with problems of defense mobilization, consisting of representatives from AFL, CIO, and independent labor organizations. The AFL withdrawal not only meant the end of the committee, but it dealt at the same time a stunning blow to the structure of cooperation between AFL and CIO, which had been building up over a long period and seemingly had reached its peak in the Labor Policy Committee.

Writing last spring in the magazine *Labor and Nation,* Philip Murray had hailed the creation of that committee as "an event of major and lasting significance to the trade union organizations of the United States." Since its establishment, he wrote, "it has acted unanimously and with a splendid demonstration of organizational goodwill." Its activities "have served to inspire further movements toward working trade union cooperation in states and cities across the nation. . . . The great contribution of the United Labor Policy Committee has been to formalize the wide areas of agreement between the CIO and AFL which have existed for some time, and to provide a climate in which remaining areas of disagreement can be discussed in an atmosphere of goodwill and tolerance."

Mr. Murray caused the more significant parts of this statement to be reprinted in the August issue of *Steel Labor,* published by his own union. Thus it appeared almost simultaneously with the announcement of the AFL action to disband the committee—an action of which the CIO leaders had had no inkling until it was reported in the newspapers.

The AFL action constituted a rejection of the CIO formula of "functional unity" in favor of "organic unity." The former implies cooperation on all matters where agreement is possible, with each organization retaining its identity until experience and developing goodwill make a merger practicable; the latter calls for immediate consolidation of the two bodies in one organization, with unsettled problems to be dealt with afterward. A formal statement issued by the AFL on August 28 asserted that the Labor Policy Committee had accomplished its purpose, that from now on labor must look to Congress for "basic improvement in defense policies," but that joint action in that direction by different labor groups was "impossible." Labor can expect to attain its ends, the statement ran, only through a united movement, "merged into a single organization." After this apparently complete rejection of all cooperative relationships with the CIO, the statement concluded with a proffered olive branch. It proposed a renewal of conferences with CIO leaders in order to promote organic unity "and to assure that the goodwill and fraternity engendered by our association with the representatives of the CIO on this United Labor Policy Committee are not allowed to lapse." The AFL convention in September endorsed this viewpoint but did little to clarify it.

Thus, for reasons nowhere made explicit the drive for a united labor movement has been set back for an indefinite period. *Fortune* magazine for October remarked that the thing calling for explanation was "the general sense of hostility toward the CIO indicated in the manner of withdrawal—a hostility that, to make the matter more confusing, did not appear to be reciprocated by the CIO leadership."

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WHETHER POLICEMEN HAVE EITHER THE LEGAL OR THE moral right to join a labor organization has been agitating the citizens of the City of New York. Michael Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, launched a campaign last summer to bring the city's 19,000 policemen within the fold of trade unionism. In August, when newspapermen were estimating that 3,000 policemen had joined, and Quill was claiming 4,500 members with "half the force" signing applications, Police Commissioner Monaghan threw a bomb shell in the form of an order forbidding policemen to join "any union," and promising "disciplinary action" to those who did not withdraw their applications to join.

This touched off a debate in which practically everybody joined. Both AFL and CIO leaders denounced the commissioner's action. Policemen have a constitutional right to join any union, said an AFL spokesman, "even Quill's." In a different vein, an officer of the Civil Service Reform Association wrote in a letter published in the newspapers that there was "much to be said" against a policemen's organization having any connection with an industrial union, "especially one such as the Transport Workers Union—notorious for its contempt of public interest." Counsel for the Transport Workers immediately asked the courts to issue a declaratory judgment affirming the right of policemen to join unions, and sought a temporary injunction staying the commissioner's disciplinary hand until the matter could be decided. The injunction was denied, but the court set a date in mid-October to hear arguments on the matter of legal rights.

Much of the popular debate centers on the question of the right to strike. Citizens are reminded of the Boston police strike of 1919. The police commissioner has spoken of the police force as "akin" to the army and navy, where there is no conceivable recognition either of strikes or of collective bargaining. On the other hand, an AFL union, the State, County and Municipal Employes, claims to have organized the police of sixty-three American cities, without resulting strikes.

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Indeed, the constitution governing these police unions forbids its members to strike. Mr. Quill has announced that the same provision appears in the basic rules proposed for New York City policemen.

By the time this appears in print the legal question raised about the commissioner's ruling probably will have been decided by the court of original jurisdiction. The questions of policy will remain, and these deserve thoughtful consideration. The comparison of policemen with the army and navy men seems hardly valid. The armed forces of the nation exist mainly for the purpose of fighting an enemy or, by their show of strength, of discouraging and dissuading one. When in action the members of these forces work in constant peril of their lives.

The police force has no enemy in the same sense. It exists to assist a community to achieve its peaceful and orderly objectives. In doing that it may have to use force against law breakers, but primarily the work of the police is constructive, cooperative, and peaceful. As compared with soldiers engaged in war, the police operate in a less tense atmosphere, in which bargaining and the presentation of grievances are not incompatible with efficiency and essential discipline. Moreover, work as a policeman is for most of the force a life career. It is otherwise with American civilians drafted for temporary duty with the armed forces.

In the second place, policemen like other workers, are employes. As such they have problems that may need to be threshed out with superior officers or with city councils and legislatures. *The New York Times,* which opposes unions for policemen, pointed out that many had joined the Quill union because they were "disgruntled by the city's failure to give them better working conditions." To refuse policemen an opportunity to present such matters in the only way they can be presented effectively—through democratically chosen representatives—and to refuse it on the ground of their public obligations, is to assume that obligations run only from policemen to public and not equally from public to policemen. That is an assumption that no fair minded person would wish to make.

Aside from the abstract question of the suitability of the unions as vehicles for the presentation of the views of policemen, there is the specific local question of the suitability of Michael J. Quill as leader. Many who would accept the former as a general proposition find the latter an insuperable stumbling block.

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Another area in which the question of who owes whom and what, is that occupied by the teacher. In Pawtucket, Rhode Island, public school teachers have recently won a cost-of-living increase after a strike which began last May. At the outset, the Pawtucket School Board refused to accept mediation even though it was urged by the state director of education and the governor. The Board said it was "not worth considering," and the chairman was quoted as saying that a cost-of-living bonus would "end our form of government" and make it "socialistic."

In ten school districts in Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties, Pennsylvania, teachers have been on strike this fall in an effort, not to get an increase, but to collect salaries already earned, some of which are reported to have remained unpaid for as long as ten months. In two other districts strikes were avoided when the authorities in one promised "prompt payment" of back salaries, and in the other actually paid two thirds of the amount due. A staff writer for *The New York Times* reported on September 5 that the State Department of Public Instruction had authorized the sending of $35,000 of state funds to pay teachers in two of the districts whose aggregate bills for unpaid salaries amounted to $82,000. Further details in *The Times* man's report were as follows:

"In McAdoo, the twenty-eight striking teachers reported that they were owed a total of about $60,000 in back pay for seven and one half months. In Cass Township, where thirty-one teachers are involved, the school board owes about $52,000 in back salaries, including a bank loan obtained to pay teachers seven of the sixteen weeks' pay due them.

"In Kline Township, $30,000 reportedly is due teachers for periods ranging up to ten months, while Kulpmont is said to owe thirty-one teachers $10,000. Fifteen teachers in Branch Township are owed four months' back salary aggregating about $20,000."

A strike of school teachers involves less of immediate danger to the public than a strike of policemen. Nevertheless, such a strike is a matter justifying the deepest concern. In popular esteem it ranks only a little above a policemen's strike. But the placing of the interests of school children in jeopardy might have been avoided by an attitude of greater respect for teachers and their interests in Pawtucket, and some ordinary commercial honesty in the Pennsylvania counties. These teachers, in the face of injustice or stone-wall opposition took the course that seemed open to them. A better way is organization and bargaining carried on in an atmosphere of mutual respect and goodwill. In public employment as in private industry such an atmosphere can be created only by the joint action of employed and employer.

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In the September Survey reference was made to the new freedom of railway unions to negotiate for the establishment of the union shop. Since this is a new practice on the railroads—such agreements having been forbidden by the Railway Labor Act until this year—some problems have arisen for which there are no governing precedents. A recently negotiated union shop agreement between the New York Central Railroad and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen led to a notice of discharge to two brothers in Toledo who had worked for the railroad, respectively, 22 and 23 years. The men, who are members of a religious sect known as Plymouth Brethren, had refused to join the union on religious grounds. They felt themselves bound by the passage in the Scriptures warning against being "unequally yoked together with unbelievers." The railroad was reluctant to dismiss the men but had no alternative under the union shop agreement.

In view of the fact that 90 percent or more of railway employes were already in the unions before the union shop agreements were negotiated, this insistence by the union on the letter of the contract with respect to the two middle-aged die-hards, who would rather lose their jobs than violate their conscience, seems unbelievably petty.

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The Aged Throughout the World

OLLIE A. RANDALL

"AGING IS A UNIVERSAL PROCESS recognizing no national boundaries."

Thus Dr. E. V. Cowdry, president of the Second International Gerontological Congress sounded the keynote for the Congress at the opening session in St. Louis on September 10. Attending this five-day conference on aging and the aged were delegates from fifty-two nations coming from all the continents of the earth, scientists and persons engaged in applying the findings of science to the welfare of the elderly. In welcoming them, President Truman, in absentia, and Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing, in person, stressed the importance of cooperation everywhere among all appropriate scientific and professional groups toward the accumulation of knowledge and experience to help bring "life to the years" of those for whom science has already added "years to the life."

Teamwork, thus, was the accepted theme though an occasional dissenting view emerged—as from the delegate who called for fundamental biological and medical research as the first and highest priority in gerontology.

All the sessions—scientific, professional, and social—bore eloquent testimony to the existence of a common meeting ground. Though the participants concerned with medical and biological sciences inevitably outnumbered all others, the inclusion of representatives of other scientific and professional groups in itself pointed to the broadening concept of gerontology. The program too, with its more than 400 abstracts, gave evidence of the growing appreciation of the interdisciplinary and international approaches to the human problems created by aging. It also recognized the achievements of the aged in all countries of the world.

There were four sections, the first and largest, the Section on Biology and Medicine, expressed the opinion that the application of isotope techniques might assist in the elucidation of problems of the physical processes of aging, by clearing up some of the mysteries of the relation of cell and tissue health to body structure and metabolism. The section reached unanimous agreement as to the importance of nutrition to cell metabolism and hence to the health of aging individuals. Pointing out that "normality" in old age is still an unknown quantity, the delegates repeatedly stressed the need for developing more reliable techniques for evaluating physiological age. This was underscored by reported differences in the incidence of some pathological conditions, such as arteriosclerosis, in various countries of the world, indicating that studies on the geographical incidence of disease might furnish significant information.

Among the investigations advocated were a few long term pilot studies, undertaken in a relatively stable economy, to acquire evidence as to the time incidence of morbidity and the factors contributing to morbidity and old age. These were considered vital to the adequate handling of medical problems of elderly people, and for the reorientation of medical thought regarding both the incidence of diseases among the aged and the general problems of an aging population.

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Home for the Aged

Merge years unto each other
merge . . . forgetting
the youth that should have been
but never was . . .
the time for play
the clutching grasp and cleaving
and the long sound of winter in
the clay.

Now in this hour
I go with footsteps firm-set
into this newer home
patiently
awaiting the crumbling years
the final parting
accepting the last pause
the last delay.

—Hannah Kahn

SECTION II, ON PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, Education, and Religion, agreed that the study of the age span should commence in middle age and run through old age, to permit study of the *process* of aging as well as its *product*. Accordingly, it recommended an appropriate sampling of individuals from a great variety of groups and social situations to be observed repeatedly through their entire life spans. Discussants questioned the validity of present tests for mental ability, suggesting that the tests themselves require further testing to determine their usefulness in the assessment of the capacities of elderly people.

Several other subjects were suggested for intensive exploration, among them: the changes in social roles which come with age to people in various groups; the regularities making for consistency and unity in individual life patterns together with appraisal of irregularities which may result in disharmony; the relationship of the individual to his social environment in a rapidly changing society, particularly as he ages.

The section deplored the rareness with which the clinician and the psychologist are presented with opportunity for mutual support in the evaluation of changes in ability and adjustment. It stressed the need for critical and objective examination by social workers of the value of community and institutional programs for the elderly.

Finally, since the needs and interests

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of older people, as yet but dimly understood by themselves or others, lie at the heart of the problem of their happiness, students of mental behavior were urged to ally themselves with biologists and physicians in studies of the same individuals.

SECTION III, ON ECONOMICS, EMPLOYment, and Welfare, found need for more information throughout the world on jobs suitable for older workers, for methods of adapting jobs to the requirements of the aging, and of permitting women to enter employment in middle and early old age, and for more extensive exchange of such information and experience between the various countries. This section discussed retirement and its attendant problems for the employe and for industry, including those of personal adjustment and income maintenance.

With the economies of the several countries of the world in different stages of evolution, the delegates recognized that each country must decide how much it can allocate to the support of its aged, basing its ultimate decisions on more definite information than is now at hand: 1, on the costs of programs; 2, on methods for improving production and employment opportunities; 3, on tax supported provisions for aged persons; and 4, on how costs may be distributed so as to keep the economy healthy.

SECTION IV, ON MEDICAL SERVICES, Hygiene, and Housing, concluded that the health, housing, and general social needs of older people are far from being met anywhere. Here it was made clear that sound preparation for aging and health maintenance throughout all the years of life must be based on thorough health examinations at significant periods in the lives of individuals, combined with early detection and treatment of disease.

Measures advocated to improve the status of the aged in any population group were: the utilization of the normal family environment in the care of older people, and the integration and continuity of that care; the closer coordination between hospitals, other institutions, and homes for the aged; the formulation of standards dealing with basic principles for nursing homes; and the development of physical medicine and rehabilitation services with recreational and diversional therapy for older people wherever they may be.

The delegates pointed out that funds from all sources, public and private, are needed to provide physical facilities for the health care and housing of older people. They also suggested that voluntary and private insurance programs might profitably be broadened to cover long term illness and disability as well as old age retirement. The need for government participation through the extension of insurance benefits was also recognized in this connection.

In this section there was common acceptance of the fact that older people generally want to live in their own households as long as possible. There was also general agreement that housing must be planned around the idea that shelter, with health and safety factors and auxiliary living arrangements, is but one part of the older person's total needs. However, overprotection was judged to be as harmful to most elderly people as extreme indifference to hazards to "life and limb."

Gainful employment was regarded as both a source of security for the individual and his family, and a factor in his physical and mental well-being. With health a primary consideration in the continued ability of the older worker to perform his job, much thought was devoted to ways in which the impairments of older workers might be mitigated and their work capabilities preserved. Health care was also advocated for the retired worker and his family.

The Congress brought forth no startling conclusions. But it was significant for its agreements. In these there is real promise of a brighter future for older people around the globe.

E. M. Barclay, of the Embassy of Liberia in Washington, speaking for the continent of Africa, gave a graphic summary:

"Last week representatives of forty eight countries met in San Francisco to sign a treaty with The Rising Sun, but it was for us, the delegates of fifty-two nations, to meet this week in St. Louis to conclude peace with The Setting Sun!"

—Miss Randall, consultant on services for the aged, Community Service Society of New York, is acting chairman of the National Social Welfare Assembly's National Committee on the Aging.

"Little Man, What Now?"

ELSEWHERE IN THIS MAGAZINE A DISTINGUISHED American maintains that America needs a new policy on immigration. (See page 463.) Three recent events have called attention to an even broader need: a new world policy on migration.

The first was the release of a report by the doomed International Refugee Organization showing how the techniques and practical experience it has gained in the resettlement of nearly 1,000,000 displaced persons in the past four years could be applied by a permanent international agency to keep the distribution of the world's population in better economic balance. The report, "Migration from Europe," shows how the IRO, which constantly had to remold its procedures to meet the specifications of receiving countries, the availability of transportation, and the human needs and qualifications of the potential emigrants, evolved an efficient and humane machinery to expedite the movement of "surplus" people to places where they were needed and wanted. In a remarkably simple exposition illuminated by charmingly human photographs, it describes one of the most exciting experiments in history, one of the first large scale and successful international operations among governments for nonbelligerent purposes.

But the report's significance as a historical document is overshadowed by its potentiality as a guide for planning a broader migration scheme, applicable not only to refugees from war and political persecution, but also from economic frustration incidental to overpopulation for any reason. Set in a framework of past migration history and prediction of future population trends, it shows how policies of unplanned or only unilaterally planned, migration can result in the extremes of human exploitation or almost complete cessation of movement. It maintains that multilateral planning made possible through an international agency, could move about 500,000 persons a year from the overpopulated countries of Europe, efficiently and with a minimum of expense. Though it offers the IRO pattern as the basis of such planning, it suggests modifications for a permanent migration policy to allow for the burden of expense to be shouldered by the chief beneficiaries: the countries of emigration; the countries of immigration; and the immigrants themselves.

The IRO, charged with the care of a specific group of people, the displaced persons of World War II, can close its

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no one is more aware t an J. ona d Kingsley, its executive director, of the thousands upon thousands of "unwanted" people, not within the organization's legal power to help, who are a constant threat to Europe's stability. Mr. Kingsley and his staff present this meaningful IRO swan song in the belief that "the millions of 'surplus' men, women, and children who now burden the relief rolls and lengthen the queues of unemployed across the face of Europe, could and would contribute enormously to the wealth, the strength, and the progress of the free world if means could be found to transplant them to those broad areas where their talents and skills are in great demand."

Photo: IRO

An IRO officer helps a DP orphan fill out a customs form; just one of the scores of papers required in migration

ANOTHER EVENT CALLING ATTENTION to the need for planning for population movements was the blasting of the International Labor Organization's hopes to move in quickly to fill the vacuum to be created by the IRO's coming demise. At a special ILO meeting on migration held in Naples early last month, a five-year plan for the resettlement of 1,700,000 persons was shelved almost immediately, although discussion of its implementation had been regarded as the main purpose of the gathering. Under the plan David Morse, director general of the ILO, would have headed a "migration administration which would discharge operational responsibilties," similar to those of the IRO. The plan was killed before birth when the United States delegation showed by technical objections that it did not have this country's support. Death came quickly as life had depended upon this country assuming a major share of the financial burden.

The official explanation as to why this country dealt such a fatal blow to a carefully devised program to bring opportunities for usefulness to nearly 2,000,000 "surplus" people, concerned Congress's reluctance to appropriate money for long term migration plans. Pointing to a $10,000,000 fund in a pending ECA appropriation which would enable the United States to operate a dozen ships for migration purposes now being used by the IRO, Robert West, head of the United States delegation urged the conference to restrict its discussion to such "practical measures."

Another explanation which, according to *The New York Times* was offered by other delegates as a reason for the opposition to any large scale ILO operations, was the fact that 5 of the ILO's 62-member nations are Soviet satellites. The *Times* reported conjectures that "the United States might prefer a course of action that did not place the migration authority within the framework of an organization that included many Communist nations."

Whatever the reason for the U. S. delegation's attitude, the result was that the conference lowered its sights to a discussion of ways and means of resettling 100,000 emigrants during the coming year in contrast to the 200,000 first year quota in the ILO plan. But even for this reduced number no definite arrangements emerged. Before adjournment, the conference brought forth what might be regarded as a mouse in comparison to what had been expected of it—a "temporary consultative council for European migrations," with advisory powers only and expressly forbidden to perform operative functions.

THE HOPES OF MANY LONG SUFFERING refugees were also dimmed by an event which occurred late in September. This was a drastic cut in the budget of the High Commissioner of Refugees, whose office was set up only a few months ago to take care of the legal functions of the IRO—to issue the all-important papers without which no stateless person can move or have any "recognized" existence. The commissioner's budget was reduced from $800,000 to $570,000, with the explanation that its field offices could be cut down by centering more of the operations in Geneva. No explanation was given, however, as to how a paperless person in Germany, where the field office is to be closed, can get to Geneva to obtain the only document that will distinguish him from an outlaw and bring him legal protection where he is or the chance of securing a visa for resettlement elsewhere.

World Congress on Welfare of Cripples

SEVEN HUNDRED PEOPLE FROM TWENTY countries, representatives of governmental and international voluntary services for the handicapped, met in Stockholm, Sweden, from September 9-14 for the Fifth World Congress of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples. With the theme of the conference, "Complete Services for All Disabled—a World Goal," attention was focused on progress in methods and spread of the various rehabilitative services and the gaps remaining to be filled.

Particular interest was accorded a report on the rehabilitation program of the United Nations, presented by Dr. Harold Balme of England, consultant adviser on rehabilitation to the World Health Organization and the United Nations. Dr. Balme explained WHO's plan to assist in staffing and organizing rehabilitation centers in needy countries. The countries involved, he said, must be responsible for the basic cost of operation, provide the centers with proper hospital affiliations and adequate medical standards, and use them to train rehabilitation personnel from other countries in the same region, as well as their own.

Among the Americans who spoke at the conference were Dr. Henry Kessler of the Kessler Institute in New Jersey and president of the International Society, Dr. Howard Rusk of the New York University-Bellevue Institute of

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ard W. Mayo, director of the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children. Dr. Kessler set an inspirational tone by calling for a combination of service and faith as the requisites of the "international man." Dr. Rusk emphasized the necessity for coordinating medical, social, and educational services in rehabilitation. Dr. Mackie pointed to the need for increased facilities for training teachers of the handicapped. Mr. Mayo expressed the intention of nongovernmental groups to work closely with national and international official bodies to eradicate the weaknesses in rehabilitation programs wherever they exist.

York, Mr. Mayo found that it pointed up these needs: for a continuing exchange of information and experiences on rehabilitation of the handicapped among the nations; for personnel equipped to treat the handicapped and to organize and conduct rehabilitation programs; for better, as well as more, medical care and facilities. He was impressed with the degree of agreement on modern rehabilitation philosophy and methods among the delegates from so many lands, but was concerned over the Congress's failure to emphasize the great need for research and other preventive measures.

Champion and Friend of Children

WARMTH AND ENCHANTMENT WELLED up at the dinner to Katharine F. Lenroot on her voluntary retirement as chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau. Held October 3, at the Hotel Mayflower, Washington, this honored her thirty-six years of service, all but reaching back to the Bureau's beginnings, and rounded out with twelve years as assistant chief, seventeen years as chief.

For one thing, the warmth sprang from Miss Lenroot's appreciation of her predecessors, Julia C. Lathrop and Grace Abbott—and her anticipations for her associate turned successor, Dr. Martha W. Eliot. Sprang, too, from her give and take with long time friends on every hand. Thus, the National Child Labor Committee and the National Consumers League had led in the seven years fight for the creation of such an unprecedented agency of government. The Committee was personified at the dinner not only by its present executive, Gertrude Folks Zimand, but by two of its pioneers—Owen R. Lovejoy and Samuel McCune Lindsay — the League, in turn, by Elizabeth S. McGee of Cleveland, national executive, and an earlier chairman, Josephine Roche of Denver, former Undersecretary of the Treasury.

Among the sponsors of the dinner were Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter of the United States Supreme Court and other judges and lawyers who had borne a hand in creative legislation and crucial decisions. A score of top rank physicians had helped shape acts and administration with respect to child health. Reverends—yes, Right, Very, and Most—symbolized the concern of the churches. Senators Herbert H. Lehman, James E. Murray, and Wayne Morse signalized progressive forces in Congress. Others were Secretary Maurice J. Tobin, Ewan Clague, and Mary Anderson of the Labor Department; Oscar Ewing, Arthur J. Altmeyer, and Jane M. Hoey of Social Security; Chairman Leon Keyserling of the President's Economic Advisors. Such sponsors as Governor Luther H. Youngdahl of Minnesota and Welfare Commissioner Fred K. Hoehler of Illinois widened the circle to state and city. Presidents William Green of the AFL and Philip Murray of the CIO stood for the Bureau's cooperative relationships in the labor field.

The spark of enchantment came in scanning adventures, past and present, and Miss Lenroot's part in them, such as the implementation of maternal and child health services throughout the Twenties under the Sheppard-Towner Act and the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Meanwhile the Children's Bureau's recommendations in behalf of unemployed youth helped shape the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, and in the mid-Thirties came the passage of the Social Security Act itself which put federal aid to the states for child health and welfare services on a permanent basis. Under Miss Lenroot's administration, federal grants to the states for these purposes have increased fourfold—to the present $31,500,000. In the Forties, under her direction, the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care Program for the Wives and Children of Service Men became "the greatest maternity care program

The occasion was fortunate in its chairman, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor throughout the Roosevelt administrations who linked fond remembrance with kindling awareness of work ahead. Leonard W. Mayo visualized the White House Conferences as examples in developing citizen concern. Dr. Eliot, recently assistant head of the World Health Organization, singled out Miss Lenroot's gift in not letting day to day details obscure her judgment or her vision. Ernest Howell, speaking for a new generation, hailed the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, of which Miss Lenroot was secretary in 1950, as the turning point in welcoming young people not merely as listeners but as participants. And Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt emphasized Katharine Lenroot's ground-breaking work in expanding concern for children . . . . That came first in South America; then through the League of Nations; in 1946 as secretary of the Temporary Social Commission of the United Nations; and since 1947, under appointment of President Truman, as member of the executive board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

To Mrs. Roosevelt's mind, today it is not enough to conserve American childhood. Calls reach us from overseas; and Miss Lenroot has helped all of us see that children make an appeal which as nothing else touches the lives of people everywhere.

In its warmth and enchantment, Miss Lenroot's closing address was itself the capstone of the meeting and the heart of it will be carried in our next *Survey*.

—P. K.

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Canadian Pensions Without Means Test

CANADA, WHICH SEVERAL YEARS AGO established an allowance for every child of the Dominion, without a means test and regardless of need, is about to extend a similar measure of economic security to her "over 70" citizens. The 1951 Old Age Security Act is scheduled to go into effect on January 1, 1952. Under it, any Canadian 70 years of age or older and not receiving an old age pension may apply for an allowance of $40 a month. The only "test" is to prove age and meet the requirement of resi-

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dence in Canada for the past 20 years, that is, since December 31, 1931.

The 302,173 persons receiving old age pensions will be transferred automatically to payments under the new Act. It is estimated that an additional 413,000 persons over 70 not now receiving pensions will be eligible under the new scheme. Officials believe that the cost of old age security payments will be in the neighborhood of $343,000,000 a year.

For the first time, Indians and Eskimos will be eligible for old age assistance, blind pensions, and old age security payments on the same basis as the rest of the population.

Illinois Cares for Child Psychotics

THE FIRST STEP IN A ROUNDED PLAN for the institutional care of mentally and emotionally disturbed children in Illinois was achieved last month with the opening of the Abbott Children's Center at the Peoria State Hospital. Named in honor of the late Grace Abbott, second chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau, the center provides enough hospital facilities for psychotic children between the ages of six and fourteen to take care of almost all those who have been residing along with adults in the state mental hospitals. Thus it will bring them the opportunity for more individualized treatment and an environment nearer to the kind needed by a sick child. No longer will such incongruities occur as the recent assignment of a nine-year-old child to a bed next to a ninety-nine-year old mentally ill adult.

With a total capacity of thirty-six children, the center will provide a complete psychological and psychiatric treatment program, occupational and recreational therapy, and academic instruction. It includes a two-acre playground, a quonset hut gymnasium, a small lake for boating, fishing, and winter skating, and stables already stocked with riding horses donated by Peoria townspeople. With generous donations from the townspeople for services and equipment, the entire project, involving the remodeling of a two-story brick building, cost the state only $50,000.

Two other steps in the institutional plan, envisaged by State Welfare Director Fred K. Hoehler, await the availability of funds. They include the establishment of a ward at the Galesburg State Research Hospital for the care, treatment, and study of various mental afflictions as they affect the teen-age child, and the opening of a hospital for the emotionally disturbed child threatened with mental illness.

At the dedication of the Abbott Children's Center, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson pointed to the way in which this institutional plan fits in with the state's larger mental health program, which includes both governmentally and privately supported mental hygiene and child guidance clinics. The final answer to the appalling problem of mental illness, said he, must be found "not alone in bigger and better hospitals, but in finding and correcting the root causes of mental illness, in better curative methods, in the wider acceptance of local communities of their responsibilties."

Nomination for Survey Award for 1952

This year the Survey Award, established in memory of Edward T. Devine, will be given to an American who is active in the welfare field — laymen or professional — for imaginative and constructive contribution to social work within the past five years. Such a contribution might be an original, creative achievement in administration or reorganization; a new agency or service, or an unusual piece of community organization, effective locally and applicable to other places; a completed piece of research; leadership in social action; development or refinement of professional techniques; significant international service; the successful interpretation of social work to the community; leadership in the practical improvement of race relations.

Persons nominated for the Award in previous years and not chosen may be nominated again.

All nominations must be filed on the form below, with two attached sheets as requested. Additional forms will be supplied by the Award Committee on request.

All nominations must be received by the committee on or before February 1, 1952. The Award will be made at the 1952 National Conference of Social Work in May.

Address: The Survey Award Committee, 112 East 19 Street, New York 3.

Name of nominee:

Present position and address:

Past positions:

Social work or community activities outside of official position:

Any significant publications:

Outstanding contribution to social work prompting nomination: (State in 200 words or less on an attached sheet.)

Why the nominator believes this merits national recognition: (State very briefly on an attached sheet.)

Signed:

Address:

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PERSONALITIES and PROJECTS

In Behalf of Human Relations

"In this atomic era the only alternative to destruction is cooperation, and cooperation is not something that can be worked out in science laboratories. It is definitely spiritual."

Thus, CHANNING H. TOBIAS, alternate representative in the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations, recently expressed faith that a means is available through which mankind can dispel the dark clouds threatening the future.

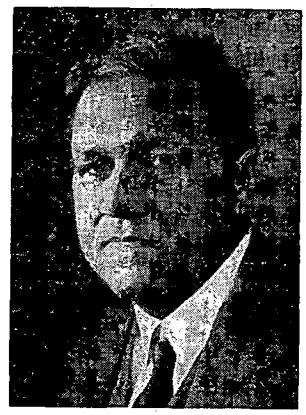
A Methodist minister by training, Dr. Tobias, now director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and this year's chairman of the Survey Award Committee (see page 485), applies no rigid denominational definition to the word "spiritual."

He is speaking of a resource, he explains, on which men of every religious background can draw—Mohammedan, Hindu, and Buddhist, as well as Jew, Catholic, and Protestant. In a strong interfaith movement, he feels, can lie the hope of the world. The two men he credits with firmly cementing his own faith in man's spiritual capacity are Julius Rosenwald and Mahatma Gandhi.

Born in Augusta, Georgia, sixty-nine years ago of parents who were domestic servants "because few other jobs were available to Negroes," Dr. Tobias has a rare incapacity to harbor resentment against any group of human beings. Though everything within him "revolts against the southern pattern of double standards," he refuses to forget the "hundreds" of southern white men and women he has known who have believed in and worked for a single standard of citizenship in the South. Among these was George Williams Walker, principal of the Paine Institute in Augusta where he attended secondary school and where later, after he had secured a B.D. from Drew University in New Jersey, he taught biblical literature. By then the Institute had become Paine College.

Gentle and soft spoken, Dr. Tobias has devoted the major part of his adult life to what he calls the "task of human relations." After six years on the faculty of Paine College he began a long career with the National Council of the YMCA, where he was at first secretary in the student department and later senior secretary of the colored department. He left this position for his present one in 1946. His work with the "Y" and his present responsibilities for the Phelps-Stokes Fund have taken him to all parts of Europe, to India, and to a number of countries in Africa.

At the Phelps-Stokes Fund he is responsible for the direction of many projects for bringing wider opportunities to Negroes, particularly students, of this country and the countries of Africa. Among these has been the nurturing of the Booker T. Washington Institute of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts in Liberia, soon to become a part of the newly organized governmental university system.



Channing H. Tobias

Not the least part of Dr. Tobias' work for better human relationships, however, has been through the responsibilities he has assumed outside his jobs. Most notable of these was his service on President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1946, which produced the report, "To Secure These Rights." He also has served on many working committees of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (now the National Council of Churches). At present he is a trustee of a number of educational organizations and foundations for human betterment, among others: Hampton Institute, where he is chairman of the board; Howard University; the New School for Social Research; the Marshall Field Foundation.

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Last month the City Council in Ottawa, unanimously elected CHARLOTTE WHITTON, woman and social worker, mayor of the Canadian capital. Dr. Whitton had been serving as acting mayor since the death of Mayor Grenville Goodwin in the late summer. First woman to head the government of this city of over 300,000 people, she is also the first of her sex ever to have been elected to the Board of Control. In December 1950, she polled the highest number of votes as controller ever to be recorded in an Ottawa civic election.

Well known in this country, where she has long been in demand as a lecturer at welfare conferences, Charlotte Whitton is that rare combination, a social worker with political know-how. With the kind of brain that can marshall facts and figures at the drop of a hat she is a formidable opponent in debate and a boon to the cause she espouses. Grace Abbott knew this many years ago when she turned to Miss Whitton to secure Canada's support of a Social Questions Section in the League of Nations.

Canada's new lady mayor first learned her way around politics in the early Twenties when for three years she was private secretary to the Minister of Trade and Commerce in the MacKenzie King government. By that time she had already accumulated considerable knowledge of welfare problems through four years as assistant secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada.

At the close of 1925, she went to the Canadian Council on Child Welfare as director, staying with it and guiding it after its expansion to the Canadian Welfare Council until her resignation in 1941. Since then, she has continued to contribute to social welfare as a free lance writer, lecturer, and consultant. One fearless study she directed in Alberta not only led to a governmental inquiry into the provincial welfare services but also to her own prosecution for libel by the provincial government. The government withdrew the charges after the case had been carried to the Supreme Court of Alberta.

In her first official statement Mayor Whitton revealed her continued interest in welfare concerns by declaring that her program would include a drive for low cost rental housing.

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Toward the Renewal of Man

HOWARD W. HINTZ

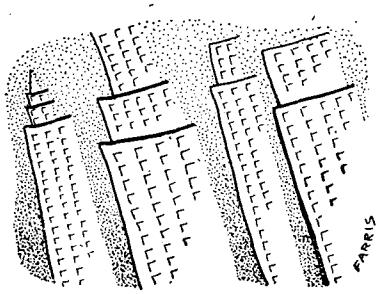
THE CONDUCT OF LIFE, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. $5

THIS IS THE FOURTH AND CONCLUDING volume of the distinguished series of studies which began with the publication of "Technics and Civilization" in 1934. It is clearly a continuation and development of the underlying theme of its forerunners, and yet like each of these, it might well stand alone as a self-sustaining unit. In the first book, Lewis Mumford described the impact of a phenomenally advancing technology upon contemporary Western culture. In the second volume, "The Culture of Cities," he traced the forces responsible for the emergence of the super-city "Megalapolis," and indicated the dominating influence of the great urban center upon the whole cultural pattern. In "The Condition of Man," he analyzed the course of Western man's spiritual and intellectual evolution from the Greco-Roman period to the present and focused attention upon the social changes and conditions requisite to the survival of civilized and humane values.

In the closing paragraph of "The Condition of Man," Mumford anticipates the thesis of "The Conduct of Life" with the assertion that the first step toward the new society must be "a personal one; a change in the direction of interest toward the person." In the preceding book, he placed his main emphasis upon the achievement of social equilibrium. In the present study, he is primarily concerned with personal equilibrium and the creation of the conditions favorable to "the renewal of life" on both the individual and the social levels. Thus, the concluding volume is very clearly a synthesis and a summary of the series as a whole. In briefest terms, Mumford's central and all-pervading thesis is the necessity for the radical transformation of individuals in heart and mind and the concentration of all our forces upon the full development of the human personality.

On an even more imperative and emphatic note than in the earlier books, Mumford calls for a reversal of the predominant current trends toward the dehumanization and mechanization of the individual. Once again, the infinitely perfectible and unpredictable human spirit must be placed at the top of our scale of values. Toward this end, religion, technology, the physical and social sciences, political and social institutions and, above all, basic philosophical concepts must be reoriented and redirected. The continued worship of the latter-day trinity of Militarism, Mechanism, and Money will spell the doom of modern man.

The transformation of society, however, depends upon the prior rebirth of the individual — of millions of individuals. The process of individual rebirth which Mumford describes is identical, in psychological though not theological terms, with the traditional Christian formula of repentance, reaffirmation, and dedication.



As for the part which religion will play in the creation of the balanced, whole, and consecrated person, Mumford foresees the distillation of the basic and universal truths perceived by each of the major religions into a residue which will more closely approximate ultimate truth than does any single body of doctrine. "Thus," he maintains, "the Socratic injunction 'know yourself,' the Aristotelian injunction 'realize yourself,' the Christian injunction 'repent and renew yourself,' the Buddhist injunction 'renounce yourself,' and the Humanist injunction 'perfect yourself' are each and all partial but essential recognitions of the fact that the final goal of human effort is man's self-transformation. All our ceaseless daily efforts to carry forward civilization will fail unless we reinstate this human goal, for it is toward the making of persons that all these preliminary activities tend."

HOW DOES THE INDIVIDUAL MOVE TOward this ideal consummation of balance, wholeness, and personal fulfillment? How does he convert the aimlessness, dullness, anxiety, and confusion of the average life into a meaningful, adventurous, and integrated experience? He can do it only, insists Mumford, by the exercise of rigid personal disciplines; by simplification, or the "withdrawal" from a large number of his superficial commitments; by setting aside regular periods for reflection and spiritual renewal; by enlarging his capacity for esthetic delight; by closely identifying himself with the family unit and the community group; by performing specific voluntary services for his fellow-men; in sum, by relating himself to all mankind on a basis of undertaking, sympathy, and love.

That this image of the balanced man in a balanced society is far-reaching, idealistic, and even visionary, no one can deny. This is not to say, however, that it is far-fetched, impracticable, and unrealistic. That many will dismiss the argument on these grounds is inevitable. But it may well be that the purest idealism in this instance will turn out to be the soundest realism. Certainly Mumford's conclusions, in this as in the earlier books, are arrived at on the basis

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of close reasoning, careful adherence to historical data, and painstaking analysis and appraisal of divergent schools of thought. He lays as much stress on the potential contributions of the physical and social sciences as on those of philosophy and religion. He recognizes the importance of technology, of mass production and distribution, of time and labor-saving devices, of material and physical well-being in the attainment of the good life.

What he demands is greater selectivity in the uses of knowledge and power, clearer awareness of ultimate values and purposes, and a thoroughgoing shifting of emphasis toward the spiritual fulfillment of man. He insists, by way of reiteration of ideas set forth in "The Culture of Cities," as well as in his other works, that the inner transformation of the individual must be paralleled all along the line by transformations in housing structure, in the planning of towns and cities, and in the whole pattern of social organization.

ONE OF THE FIRST AND MOST INSISTENT questions which will be raised about this book, even by those who are in full accord with Mumford's basic principles and goals, is this: What specific and practical measures do we take here and now to effect this inner transformation in the hearts and minds of millions of individuals?

It will be said that he astutely diagnoses the disease and tells us what the remedy is, but he fails to tell us where or how we can obtain it. I am convinced that this is not a valid criticism. Often, the cure prescribed by the physician for the most serious maladies is not a drug or a specific. It is a regimen of living, even a manner of thinking, which the patient alone can put into effect.

Mumford offers us no magic formula, no miracle drug, for the simple reason that there is none. On the other hand, he does lay down a very explicit and even detailed program of individual, as well as social, action. It necessarily remains with the patient, which in this instance is all of us—in all walks of life and in varying degrees of affliction—to implement the program. And as Mumford himself suggests, one person in ten, or twenty, or even a hundred who honestly embarks upon the adventure of self-transformation can be the leaven for a whole society. And he further suggests that we may well be reaching one of those periods in human history when Clark Maxwell's doctrine of "Singular Points" may come into play, and a few sparks may ignite an entire forest.

UNDOUBTEDLY, THIS BOOK WILL BE ATtacked on other fronts. Mumford's position on many issues is unequivocally rooted in deep conviction; his analyses are often penetrating and incisive; his presentation is forthright and direct.

The agnostics, materialists, and pragmatists will assail him for his God-concept, his underlying mysticism, his affirmation of primary spiritual values.

The theologians and religionists will decry his unorthodox and heretical theology. He rejects belief in God as Creator, First Cause, or immanent, omnipotent Deity. He conceives of God, rather, as Emergent Personality, Himself evolving and developing as man moves toward spiritual fulfillment.

And, of course, certain groups of physical and social scientists will resent his censure of their subservience to the material and neglect of spiritual values.

Despite his theological unorthodoxy and his skeptical approach to the religions, Mumford is now, as he always has been, much closer to Royce and Hocking, or to Niebuhr and Tillich, than he is to Dewey, or Kallen, or Stuart Chase. His emphasis, more than ever, in "The Conduct of Life," is upon spiritual goals and spiritual values. He commits himself to a teleological view of human experience and destiny. He believes that we live in an essentially methodical and intelligently dynamic universe. He believes that human existence is both meaningful and purposeful and that the human spirit is steadily progressing toward an undisclosed but nevertheless significant destiny and fulfillment. He believes, therefore, that the whole duty of man is to direct his mind, his energy, and his will toward the flowering of the human spirit.

In most of his books, but particularly in the series now concluded, Lewis Mumford has given vivid demonstration of the true uses of both scholarship and philosophy. His learning, which is both wide and deep, has been put to the ends of creative analysis and thought. His thinking, in turn, has been directed toward the profoundest needs of the people of his time. In speaking directly to the needs and conditions of the contemporary scene, he has converted philosophy into prophecy. One does not have to agree with him on all points to recognize him as one of the few major philosophers of our time.

Dr. Hintz is associate professor of English, co-chairman of American Studies, Brooklyn College; and lecturer, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Other Recent Books

CRIME IN AMERICA, by Estes Kefauver. Edited by Sidney Shalett. Doubleday. $3.50, cloth. $1, paper.

THE KEFAUVER COMMITTEE REPORT ON ORGANIZED CRIME. Didier. $1.50

SENATOR KEFAUVER'S CRIME COMMITTEE REPORT. Arco. 50 cents

ONE OF THE MAJOR NEWS EVENTS OF 1951 was the dramatic revelations of the special Senate committee investigating crime, the so-called Kefauver Committee. Television brought this story into more than a million homes while housewives deserted dishes and dusting. With highlights of sin and virtue, the testimony contained all the appeal, on an adult level, of the childhood games of cops and robbers. And it proved just as popular, too.

With the American public's special delight in the inside story of any major news event, it was to be expected that sooner or later a personalized version of the inquiry should appear. As it turned out, Senator Estes Kefauver's first person account was published within weeks after his retirement from the committee chairmanship. This was due, apparently in part, to the able assistance of Sidney Shalett, Washington newspaperman and magazine writer, who is credited with editing the manuscript and who contributes an introduction lauding the Tennessee senator and his work.

Senator Kefauver's book is a more readable version than the third interim report of the committee itself but contains little more. It does not develop in much detail the more philosophical aspects of how crime in America could grow to such magnitude and could corrupt public officials across the land. However, the Tennessee senator does summarize his conclusions in his first chapter with these points:

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1. A nationwide crime syndicate exists in this country.

2. Behind the national syndicate is "a shadowy, international criminal organization known as the Mafia, so fantastic that most Americans find it hard to believe it really exists."

3. Despite the small minority of dishonest politicians involved, corruption among public officials seems to have sunk to a new low.

4. Much responsibility for what is going on rests squarely upon federal enforcement agencies.

5. Known hoodlums are infiltrating legitimate business to "an alarming extent."

Yet Senator Kefauver does not give up all hope. He writes that the crime syndicate can be smashed by men of determination. His program is almost identical with that reported by the committee, which is not unusual since he was a key personality and was the only member attending some of the initial hearings.

Most of the book is an easy-to-read condensation of the testimony, broken down city by city. Copious photographs add to the attractiveness of the volume.

The two booklets are privately printed versions of the committee's own report after it concluded its initial series of hearings around the country.

HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM
Associate professor of journalism
New York University

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: 1900-1950, by George F. Kennan. University of Chicago Press. $2.75

THE "LACK OF ANY GENERAL AGREEment, within and without our government, on the basic concepts underlying the conduct of the external relations of the United States" impressed George Kennan when he became chief of the policy planning staff of the State Department after World War II. It also inspired the lectures given at Chicago which this volume collects.

In plain English, Kennan thought the foreign affairs of the United States had been propelled by a set of political explosions. Where you saw a head, you hit it, often as a result of a wave of public indignation. Sometimes the results worked out well for a time; sometimes not so well; sometimes they produced eventual disaster. On the whole, the results have been at least questionable.

Possibly realizing the lack of any guiding principle when he was in the Department, and certainly after his retirement from it, Kennan initiated the search for principles which should guide the formation and implementation of American foreign policy. This is excellent. His difficulty is, really, that he is still searching. His chief conclusion, briefly stated, is that we should discard the "legalistic, moralistic approach," and the unrealistic idea that great groups of states are sufficiently discontented with their own position to be willing to exchange absolute sovereignty for rule of law. Americans, he considers, are not likely to understand other peoples. But they can understand their own national interest. They are safest if they pursue that, while preserving "an attitude of detachment and soberness and readiness to reserve judgment" towards unpleasant phenomena occurring elsewhere in the world.

Unquestionably this is an arguable point of view, though it scraps most of what we have hailed as the best of American thinking—the United Nations experiment, for example. The argument would be stronger if anyone could squarely state the "American national interest" in terms more precise than that of producing a world at peace. This definition I am sure Kennan would like to work out. He has not yet got there. Given all the difficulties, one can hardly blame him.

The gist of the four lectures can be simply stated. America charged into world power a half century ago via the Spanish-American War, largely because of a convulsion of American public opinion against Spanish cruelty in Cuba. This was not a "prudent and orderly measuring of the national interest;" it was "subjective and emotional," largely dictated by domestic politics.

Shortly after, we made a second entry, through the Far Eastern route. At the time of the Boxer rebellion, American public opinion feared that China would be partitioned between world Powers. To counter it, John Hay propounded the doctrine of the "Open Door in China"—meaning thereby American opposition to European and presently to Japanese spheres of influence in that country.

Without saying so directly, Kennan suggests that neither of these entrances onto the world stage had happy consequences. In the Chinese matter especially we had a small national stake, but we were preaching to other countries, notably Japan, with a very large stake. One result was the war with Japan and even that war did not resolve the question. For Japan, with a virile population, is still there. All we have accomplished so far is to take over, for the time being, responsibilities which the Japanese faced and endeavored to meet in Korea and Manchuria. Pragmatically, are we doing better with Korea (judged by what happens to us and to Koreans) than Japan did? Might it not be a good idea, Kennan wonders, if hereafter Americans controlled that impulse to pass moral judgment on other peoples, thereby committing us to unlimited conflict?

On this line of thinking, our dash into World War I is subject to the same criticism. Woodrow Wilson, after pleading for peace without victory, joined the Allies in forcing upon the loser exactly the kind of peace he had feared and condemned — "a peace which had the tragedies of the future written into it as by the devil's own hand."

If we had recognized that peace depended on balance of power; if we had watched the slowly evolving situation and maintained an adequate army; if we had used our influence to achieve the earliest possible end of a war nobody could win, something lasting might have been accomplished.

His review of the events leading up to World War II is more sketchy: one suspects that Kennan feels by this time we were borne on a tide of irreversible forces. This is an antithesis to the thinking of men like Winston Churchill, who is clear that men could have controlled events, and that steady nerves and vigorous action would have prevented the Hitlerian tragedy.

So the plea is for comprehension, understanding, absence of moral judgment, and a steady and quiet pursuit of national interests, as these may be ultimately defined, rather than unlimited attempts to create a "Peace of Peoples," and a world ruled by enforcible law. A fascinating, thought-provoking, indispensable piece of literature.

But—and but—and but. When you have accepted all this; when you have been as understanding as intelligence permits; when you have tried to think that the Nazi empire of yesterday might have matured into the benevolent state of tomorrow; when you try to think Japan might have been guided along more humane lines; when you have controlled your moral revulsion against massacres in Havana or Auschwitz or Dachau and avoided hasty action, you

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How are the individual, the community, the psychiatrist interrelated?

Psychoanalysis, Man, and Society

by

PAUL SCHILDER, M.D.
author of *Psychotherapy*

Arranged by Lauretta Bender, M.D.

■ An investigation of the underlying relation between social problems and psychiatry—between the individual and the community. Dr. Schilder emphasizes that psychiatry is primarily concerned with the individual as a unit, but a unit that is also part of the community and contributes to our understanding of it.

Psychoanalysis, Man, and Society covers many aspects of personal and social disorganization; social neurosis, success and failure, alcoholism, criminal aggressiveness and the problem of crime, ideologies, cultural patterns and the psychology of war. It indicates the role of the psychiatrist in helping society and the individual to erect a set of values which will permit the full development of their potentialities.

The late Dr. Schilder's breadth of view, wide practical experience and deep insights make his final book a stimulating and forceful work.

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still ask, "What, in any given situation, are we to do?" For example, understanding Stalinists and finding their behavior logical though unattractive still does not free you from the obligation to defend yourself. In his Appendix, "America and the Russian Picture," Kennan rightly suggests that avoidance of warfare is a major objective to be pursued by a combination of power and patience. True, but the tough question is when and where should the power be applied; at what point does patience betray you into weakness.

Asking questions of history is essential and Kennan does this well. Answering them is something else. Kennan probably would say he is not trying to do that but rather to create an attitude of mind. His strong point is that the effect of any war is unpredictable and incalculable. His weak point is failure to classify situations in which there is effective freedom to choose a course of action, and those in which there is not.

This book is a valuable addition to the literature of foreign relations. It will be invaluable for young men training for diplomacy. How helpful it will be to a policy planning staff one can not easily say. It is to be hoped that in a second series of lectures, Kennan will apply his reasoning, propounding the kind of solution in some given problems—say, for example, the present Iranian crisis—which would give effect to his principles. Foreign relations problems are never abstract. Always something must be done or left undone. As a result, the lives of masses of men are likely to be changed, for better or for worse, or possibly ended altogether.

This volume is a valuable guide to the kind of thinking which should precede action. It purports to go no farther than that.

A. A. Berle, Jr.
Columbia Law School

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD, by Thomas R. Amlie. Capital City Press. $10

As one who has striven for years for political objectivity, I could scarcely be expected to agree with Thomas R. Amlie that the "total record of the Republican Party . . . is one of complete and unswerving servility to the forces of economic monopoly." To prove this thesis, Mr. Amlie has chosen to interpret 650 "key" roll calls covering a period of twenty years. He believes that 75 percent of the American people would identify themselves as being on the left of the line that separates liberals from conservatives in the U. S. Congress, and if they realized this fact they would retire three fourths of the members at the next election.

It is unfortunate that so complete a record of significant votes as that contained in "Let's Look at the Record" should be interpreted in so biased and unsound a manner.

The voting record of a member of a legislative body is the most important indication of his position on the issues which come before the legislature. His constituents should follow his votes as issues are debated and action taken. His record should be reviewed when he appears before them as a candidate for re-election. But for the uninitiated, voting records need a certain amount of interpretation. The wary reader will quickly recognize what kind of interpretation he gets with Mr. Amlie's help.

A whole series of votes may be taken on various aspects of a single bill. In spite of what Mr. Amlie says, there is not always agreement among political observers as to which vote is "key." On some occasions the amendments are obviously what they purport to be, and on other occasions the amendments can be attached so as to vitiate its effectiveness or make the measure practically impossible to administer. A final vote may be for passage of a bill in which a congressman does not believe and may have fought every step of the way.

There is another important point which one must keep in mind when interpreting votes. A legislator may be heartily in favor of a certain objective but believe that the piece of legislation before him is not the best way to attain the end. His vote can be explained only by a reading of the record of debate which appears daily in the *Congressional Record*, or in reports of talks and interviews which should appear in his home press. Two congressmen may vote for a measure with quite different reasons. It is up to the voter to follow the record of his elected representatives and to hold him to account when he stands for re-election. But Mr. Amlie's choice of record votes and clearly biased interpretation of them is scarcely a help, unless you are already of his political persuasion.

The citizen too often fails to realize that records of votes are often incomplete. There is no record on how your congressman has voted on a "voice vote." It is unfortunate that Congress has

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never been willing to install electrical voting, as used by a good many of our state legislatures. By electrical voting the constituents would have a recorded vote on every issue that is presented to the Congress. Another advantage would be the real saving in time which it would effect.

Alert citizens are increasingly aware of the need for following the voting record of their legislators. They need reference books with handy lists of voting records. But the vast compilation of voting records by Mr. Amlie fails to inspire confidence in his interpretation of the record because the extremity of his statements stretches beyond credulity. One final "beware" might be his statement interpreting the votes during the years of depression and unemployment. He says that "the Republican Congressmen in the Senate, by a margin of three to one, did not believe that the unemployed and their dependents had any right to live."

Former president, ANNA LORD STRAUSS
League of Women Voters of U. S.

ACROSS WORLD FRONTIERS, by Thomas W. Lamont. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50

THOMAS W. LAMONT IS BEST KNOWN as partner and president of the banking house of J. P. Morgan on Wall Street. But Lamont himself was a philanthropic philosopher who might well have become a preacher, a poet, or a plenipotentiary. A vein of humor and forgiveness of human folly runs through Lamont's diary of his financial missions to all parts of this planet and his participation in the treaty of Versailles that terminated the first World War. Lamont loved and understood men as well as the moods of nations.

It is one of the tragedies of public opinion that the House of Morgan and its partnership of honest bankers and statesmen were denounced by clever and unscrupulous writers as warmongers and munitions profiteers, whereas, the disinterested Morgan management of supplies for war-stricken Europe prevented the debacles of graft and inflation. In Lamont's book the integrity of the Morgan house stands out as one of the stabilizing forces of this century.

It is true that Lamont was an astute business man just as Franklin Roosevelt was a clever politician. But he lavished the private wealth that he almost unconsciously accumulated on every manner of idealistic cause. A library at Harvard University, the New School for Social Research in New York, pews in churches, and beds in hospitals are among the monuments of Lamont's philanthropy. But unrecorded are his thousands of other charities to welfare and education and his aid to poets sheltered by his friendly roof.

In the early days of the Communist Revolution, Lamont returned from a mission overseas with certain recommendations about Russia that seemed to him to require President Woodrow Wilson's consideration. The tragedy of human stubbornness in world affairs is epitomized in one sentence; "Mr. Wilson refused to see us."

This book takes us down to 1921. It is to be hoped that from his archives may yet be resurrected Lamont's commentary on the later years of his life. For in Lamont we have an objective and rational interpreter of human frontiers. HENRY GODDARD LEACH
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ADVENTURE IN MENTAL HEALTH, edited by Henry S. Maas. Columbia University Press. $4.50

DURING WORLD WAR II, PSYCHIATRY played an increasingly important role in dealing with problems at every echelon. Much of the effectiveness of the psychiatric services was due to the availability of psychiatric social workers, both in the military and in such civilian programs as the Red Cross.

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THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

Official Publication of

The American Group Psychotherapy Association

Volume I November 1951 Number 4

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Association of Psychiatric Social Workers to achieve recognition for and utilization of psychiatric social work by the top levels of military command, and includes résumés of the development of the programs of the Red Cross and the assistance given by psychiatric social work to the Selective Service. In Part III, the implications of these experiences for civilian practice are discussed.

Whether one is attempting to assist an individual whose difficulties manifest themselves in disturbances in family relationships, at school, at work, or in the military, the principles of casework practice are the same.

A careful assessment of the assets and liabilities of the individual and the interplay between his personality and the social forces affecting him at the time is always necessary. In turn, the individual must be helped to work out a more effective adjustment to his specific social situation in terms of his own personality. Who better than the psychiatric social worker is prepared for this very task?

This book not only is a history of psychiatric social work in World War II but also demonstrates the adaptability of social work to a great variety of settings. In addition, it provides a very real expression of the validity of the teamwork concept in which psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, and psychologists work together to meet the needs of the emotionally disturbed.

Director LEWIS L. ROBBINS, M.D.
Department of Adult Psychiatry
The Menninger Foundation, Topeka

AFRICA: CONTINENT OF THE FUTURE, by George Edmund Haynes, Ph.D. Association Press. $3.50

THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL development of Africa is so recent, and the effect of that development on the indigenous peoples has been so drastic that the resulting problems seem almost insurmountable. Dr. Haynes personally visited fifteen of the territories south of the Sahara Desert for the purpose of surveying current conditions and suggesting what further contributions could be made by the YMCA toward a healthier and happier future for the young people of Africa. His report is comprehensive and clear, covering in each case the land, the people, the government, and various aspects of economic, cultural, and religious life, and his suggestions are concrete and constructive. One realizes with increasing force as he reports on territory after territory that everywhere the younger generation is being swept into a new way of life, that tribal customs and leisure-time occupations of tribe or village are being discarded, that little of cultural or ethical value is available to replace them.

It is interesting to note the different approaches to the same problem made by the different nations governing the various territories. The problem, of course, varies according to the industrial and farming activities, the climate and health problems of each territory, the tribal strains, the presence of Hindu and Cape Colored minorities, and the strong Moslem influence or its absence in different territories. But the basic problem remains the same—people moved from their native environment and accustomed pursuits into an environment to which they are ill-equipped to adjust and which is ill-equipped to absorb them. It is also interesting, and disheartening, to note that lack of cooperation between the various Christian denominations greatly weakens the influence and the usefulness of the Christian church.

The absence of tribal or family customs and discipline in the new surroundings, the poverty, and the insufficient housing and recreational opportunities, lead to thieving and other crimes, and inevitably to discontent, if not despair. Such conditions provide breeding grounds for the growth of communism and revolt. Much can be done to combat this possibility by the intelligent expansion of educational and recreational activities under the guidance of the established government and mission schools, church guilds, and trained YMCA leaders.

Dr. Haynes' book greatly enlarges our understanding of present African problems and it is to be hoped that his suggestions may be translated into action, to help assure their proper place in the free world to the people of this great continent. ELEANOR S. REYNOLDS
New York City

THE ANATOMY OF HAPPINESS, by Martin Gumpert, M.D. McGraw-Hill. $3.50

THE ARRESTING TITLE OF THIS BOOK IS somewhat misleading. "Anatomy" suggests careful, detailed study; a laying bare of bones so to speak. But in his introduction, Dr. Gumpert disclaims such an attempt. This is not, he says, a systematic and exhaustive investigation, but rather a diary about happiness, a chronicle of thoughts and impressions. They are the thoughts and impressions of a practicing physician who reveals

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himself as a confident, optimistic individual with a store of practical wisdom and a facility for giving it fresh verbal expression. Having survived disrupting experiences in his own personal life he is able in the country of his adoption to find continued zest in living. It is his conviction that not enough attention is paid to promoting the pursuit of happiness as a legitimate and accepted aim of the community.

Though he states that his aim is to give "a medical interpretation of happiness," his own wider interests overflow into other fields. We find him, for instance, in a chapter describing Fort Wayne, Indiana, as a place where people are happy, giving a sort of sociological report.

The author apparently has not too much use for psychiatry, yet he has, one feels, absorbed a good deal from that field. This is particularly evident in the chapter entitled "Stations of Life" where

he discusses happy adjustment in childhood, adolescence, maturity, involution, and old age.

This reviewer complains of certain inconsistencies and omissions. Though the author makes frequent reference to the effect of emotional attitudes and conflicts upon health, he devotes a whole chapter to the diseases which he considers are the most frequent contributing factors to unhappiness without any discussion of what is known about the relationship between these same diseases and emotional conflicts. It is as though, not being a psychiatrist but a medical man, he feels somehow bound to underplay psychogenic factors in disease; though he does it with a bad conscience, as it were, because he knows better. He can say for instance that disease is the consequence as well as the cause of unhappiness, and he begs off from the charge of "medical materialism" even while seeming to express that position.

Dr. Gumpert's "chronicle of thoughts and impressions" is organized loosely under chapters entitled "Profile of Unhappiness," "Pathology of Unhappiness," "The Stations of Life," "Tools of Happiness," "Landscape of Happiness," and "Religion." Subjects dealt with cover a wide range including mental attitudes, life situations and diseases inimical to happiness; as well as the promotion of happiness by other mental attitudes, by proper food, attractive clothing, favorable surroundings, and religious faith.

It is on the whole a discursive, conversational sort of book which leaves the impression of contact with a warm, liberal, and informed mind. Though little which can be said on such a subject is new, it is said here with vigor and a certain amount of originality. Bits of real wisdom are not infrequent.

ADELAIDE ROSS SMITH, M.D.
New York City

THE WILL TO LIVE, by Arnold A. Hutschnecker, M.D. Crowell. $3.50

"CHALLENGING" IS SUCH AN OVERworked word that one avoids it, but this book *is* challenging—so daring and reckless in its claims that one suspects the author of deliberately inviting controversy. If so, he has done a job that needed to be done.

This is not just another psychosomatic reminder that mind and body are one and must be treated jointly. It adopts the much wider premise that practically all illness is essentially emotionally motivated, claiming, without proof, that the list of psychosomatic diseases includes not only ulcers, colitis, asthma, high blood pressure, and headache—all long since conceded grudgingly by traditional medicine to have emotional roots in many cases—but also such astonishing entries as tuberculosis, appendicitis (the acute, ruptured variety, not the chronic), pneumonia, cancer, and many others.

The author is an experienced general practitioner, impressed, as is every thoughtful observer, with the large number of the sick and miserable who have no discoverable organic disease. He is puzzled by the old enigma of why some get well and some die, why it is so hard to cure a patient who does not care. He knows that mind and body are interwoven. Accordingly, he pleads eloquently that we attack all illness as if it were emotionally motivated.

"The Will To Live" is based on Freud's "Theory of the Instincts." This theory assumes two basic instincts—Eros, the will to live, and Thanitos, the will to die—eternally at war within the individual.

From a general discussion of this inner battle, the author leaps to the conclusion that the patient himself chooses the banner under which he will enlist, and hence decides himself, ultimately, whether he will get well or die. Dr. Hutschnecker states categorically (but does not prove) that we can choose our time of dying, and usually our particular means of exit, or terminal disease.

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The Disorganization and Breakdown of Behavior Controls

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This is Free Will, with a vengeance!

The book is arresting and provocative, but it ignores all the rules of research. There are no controls run, no series of cases with one common finding from which conclusions can be drawn.

For example, the case of pulmonary tuberculosis cited proves nothing. Tuberculosis is notoriously a relapsing disease. The timing of a relapse with a deeper personal pain, or of a recovery with a new happiness is not conclusive, and the description of this patient's death verges on melodrama.

One is further outraged by a medical book which solemnly records the case of an actress coming down with acute pneumonia as an evasion of a difficult opening night. That is offered as *proof* that one can choose to contract pneumonia. Perhaps one can—no one knows. But a single case does not establish the theory.

One certainly cannot take this book seriously, from a scientific viewpoint. But as a stimulator of research, as a source of speculation into the causes of sickness and recovery, as a disturber of the peace of the biochemist, and above all, as a thrower of a long overdue monkey-wrench into traditional medicine and satisfied specialties, it is valuable.

ADELE E. STREESEMAN, M.D.
Author of "You're Human, Too!"

TESTAMENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE, by Barbara Wootton. Norton. $3

A BOOK WHICH IS IN ESSENCE A CONtinuing argument and attempted demonstration that "the scientific method is entitled to rank as the only method by which we ever learn anything" is more likely to strengthen the already convinced than to persuade the unbeliever. This is not so much because Miss Wootton fails to present a strong case for the necessity of applying the method of science to all areas of experience as because the forthright attack on such rival approaches to "understanding" as theology, philosophy, and art is likely to be sufficiently damaging to the self-status of their proponents to provoke a retreat from any rational consideration of the full implications of the meaning of her arguments.

Quite obviously, this is a partisan book, and one which makes no pretense of examining with the reader the frequently made claims of those who see sharp limits to the kinds of knowledge with which science can equip mankind. But this is entirely appropriate in a book whose obvious honesty extends to the extraordinarily well-chosen title. For this is a positive rather than a negative essay: the attack on non-science is incidental to the testament *for* science. The author has faith in the ultimate demonstration of the orderliness of human affairs and in the progressive development of the measuring instruments which are necessary to state the associations between human variables. She is sure that "the potential contribution of science in this field is far greater than anything we have yet seen." And she observes that the development of a science of human affairs is urgent in a world where "the forces which make for wholesale destruction, mental and physical . . . may well be gaining on us."

Little of this, of course, is new. Miss Wootton's contribution is not so much the presentation of original materials as the drawing together of such materials in an effective and forceful essay which deserves attention and reflection.

Any reader who is not familiar with the progressive character of science, with the use of scientific method in the area of human relations, and with the irrationality of a large part of man's thinking and actions will find these and related topics lucidly summarized. Chapter 4, however, seems curiously out of date. In pointing to the confusion and invalidity of sociological studies based on analogies between society and the biological organism, and on pseudo-scientific systems derived from the doctrines of Karl Marx, and in suggesting that sociologists are concerned with that vague entity, society, rather than with the behavior of actual men and women, Miss Wootton is indeed "flogging a dead horse."

VINCENT H. WHITNEY
Chairman, Department of Sociology Brown University.

THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION, by Solomon M. Schwarz. Foreword by Alvin Johnson. Syracuse University Press. $5

THIS STUDY OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET Union was sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and written by a long standing opponent of the Soviet regime. If one expected to find that as a result of these combined efforts the book would develop into a hysterical diatribe against the Masters of the Kremlin and a typical anti-communist propaganda work they are, happily, doomed to disappointment. Both Dr. Schwarz, for his calm and carefully documented work, and the American Jewish Committee for its sponsorship, are to be congratulated on making available to the public this first really com-

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prehensive, well-balanced study of the treatment of minorities in the Soviet Union.

Here is shown, for the first time, the treatment and the development of the attitudes of the Soviet leaders toward the multitude of cultural groups, nationalities, and minorities within the vast Russian state and the other "autonomous" groups in the Soviet Union. For many years the propagandists of the Kremlin, their friends and fellow-travelers in all countries, and even anti-Communists were united in admiring the growth of cultural and national autonomy in the Soviet Union. Dr. Schwarz has made a study based on primary sources which once and for all divests the Stalinists and their apologists of even this claim to progressive development.

Without heat or passion, with copious quotation from the writings, speeches, declarations, laws, publications, and so on of the policy makers of present day Russia, the claim is laid low.

Starting from the historical legacy of anti-Semitism in Czarist Russia, Dr. Schwarz, painstakingly, but not painfully, traces the steps from the policy adopted by the Soviet government after the October Revolution straight through to the campaign against "cosmopolitanism" manifested in recent years. This campaign is nothing more nor less than an anti-Jewish manifestation under a new name.

Perhaps the most publicized attempt to solve the "Jewish Problem" was the setting up of a Jewish Autonomous Province in Birobidzhan. Yet even here, Dr. Schwarz demonstrates how at best the province must have had fewer than 30,000 Jews in 1939, or 25 percent of the total population of the province. After the war, there was a sudden spurt of interest in the Jewish Autonomous Province. But, coincident with the campaign against "cosmopolitans" even this was cut short. "In the summer and fall of 1949 even the Jewish Communist press in the United States was forced to admit its complete lack of information."

"As time goes by," writes Dr. Schwarz, "Jews are eliminated from more and more fields . . . the elections held on March 12, 1950, resulted in the almost complete elimination of Jews from membership in the Supreme Soviet. . . . Since the middle of 1949, anti-Semitism in the USSR has shunned making any open display. But the stealthy variety of anti-Semitism, which as repeatedly noted, has been gaining ground since the late 1930's, continues to exert its undeniable influence on Soviet society."

It is to be hoped that Dr. Schwarz's dispassionate and scholarly analysis of this aspect of Soviet life will be applied to other facets of communist policy.

ALBERT K. HERLING
Research director, Commission of Inquiry Into Forced Labor

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND AGENCY RESPONSIBILITY, by Ray Johns and David F. DeMarche. Association Press. $3.75

LIKE MOST GREAT MOVEMENTS AND PERhaps more abundantly than many, the YMCA throughout its history has contributed men whose vision and influence reached well beyond the confines of their organizational origin. On our present scene few better examples of this creative characteristic could be found than in the persons of Ray Johns and David DeMarche. Their breadth of outlook and variety of experience made them natural collaborators in a volume on "Community Organization."

In this book they give us, in effect, a systematic compilation of current thought and materials about community "organization" and "planning," which are flowing from sociologists, social psychologists, teachers of community organization in schools of social work, the community chest and council movement, national public agency systems, national private agency systems, state public and private agency systems, and various organized auspices through which effort is being made to bring together parts of these general systems for promotional, conference, or planning purposes. If the great and often conflicting variety of purposes toward which these different groups and agencies "organize" and "plan" results in some confusion about the common denominator which warrants assembling material from them under a common banner — that, too, accurately reflects current thought.

But the unique contribution of these authors, as the title indicates, lies in their ability to see the processes and something of the purpose of "organizing" and "planning" for the communities' welfare, through the eyes of the individual agency, its board, executive, and staff. There is in fact a good deal to see. From a special study of what might be called extracurricular staff activity in 47 cities they discovered that agency workers maintained an average of 11 outside "relationships" with other direct service agencies, professional, civ-

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Foreword by ROBT. H. MacRAE

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ic, and other community groups.

They think, with what seems to this reviewer good reason, that such a measure of time and energy expended in the processes of cooperation and participation deserves a greater amount of intelligent guidance than it is now getting.

Their own thoughts about the principles, unexplored frontiers, and fundamental training which are needed in order to provide this better sense of direction, are well worth sharing.

Executive director BRADLEY BUELL
Community Research Associates
New York City

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY, by Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer. Foreword by Gordon W. Allport. Columbia University Press. $6

THIS STUDY IS A NOTEWORTHY EVENT in social work research, and the brief compass of the present review does not permit more than an attempt to place it in perspective within this domain of scientific effort. A substantial volume of some 700 pages, it consists of three parts: the report of findings proper, with its appropriate generalizations, written by Edwin Powers, director of the study; an evaluation of the significance of the findings by Helen Witmer; and an over-all evaluation of the contribution of both to social science and social work, by Gordon W. Allport. This procedure represents a level of objectivity and scientific self-discipline that is rare in itself and rarer still in the practice of social work, where empirical imitation, unverified hypothesis, and institutional special pleading are but too frequent.

Noteworthy also about this publication are several other characteristics. The study was generously conceived; it was to cover a period of ten years of observation; it was adequately financed at all points, and it was not tied to the interest in self-preservation of an agency or institution.

In brief, the study sets out with the hypothesis that boys with a bent for delinquency might be saved from actual delinquency by friendly counsel and guidance over the crucial years (10-17 or so). A group of such boys having the benefit of such counsel and a corresponding control group were to be under observation for ten years, and results were to be compared at the end of the period. The reader will readily see how many pitfalls must be watched for and avoided: of definition, reliability, validity, logic, and statistical treatment.

The foreword, in a sense the most remarkable and most valuable part of the study in this reviewer's opinion, deals in large part with these matters. Dr. Allport had been associated with the study in an advisory capacity from the very beginning. He had evidently read not only the manuscript, but much of the substantive material upon which it was based, and apparently had studied with care the various procedures and techniques involved. He might be regarded as legitimately having a vested interest in it. Yet his evaluation—for that is what the foreword really comes to—while sympathetic and appreciative, is uncompromisingly honest and constitutes a remarkable guide to the reader. In this case at any rate, the foreword really ought to be read first. To this reviewer Dr. Allport seems to say, roughly: that the experiment failed to find anything of importance that is adequately supported by evidence, on how to prevent delinquency. He suggests some possible inferences but does not press them. He does not say that the study is a failure, for a scientist must be prepared for fruitlessness of search. But he does not gloss over the fact that the experiment did not come off.

To those of us who had observed other ambitious undertakings in the same or in contiguous fields it was particularly disheartening to find a repetition of certain simple but fundamental errors that had been deviling this field: the inappropriateness and impracticability of certain basic definitions like that of delinquency; the lack of validity in equating the varieties of content and procedure in what was to be "friendly counsel" or diagnostically appropriate treatment; the method of selecting cases; the limited integration of intensive individual analysis with suitable statistical treatment.

Since the substantive findings, in which a treated and a control group are compared after ten years of treatment and observation do not offer a solid contribution to the prevention of delinquency, to whom would the book—other than the foreword—be useful? Psychologists might be interested in the technical and statistical aspects of the study; social workers who know Dr. Witmer's outstanding work and are interested in the casework discussions of her evaluation might be interested in that part of the work. Sociologists and

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research technicians might be interested in the study as a phenomenon. Perhaps professional educators might find it most appropriate to their interest. In retrospect, however, it is difficult to see who would really profit from this extensive report. Then why was it produced?

It was begun and carried through because the originator, Dr. Henry C. Cabot, was a great man, a great ethical leader, an outstanding scientist, and because he was able to secure the funds. But the hypothesis was based on an analogy with medicine, on common sense and good will, rather than on hard-headed, informed, critical analysis of the field.

Because of the very eminence of its origin, the study was not rigorously examined and re-examined, or, if so, not altered sufficiently in its course to be able to avoid a sterility that must have been evident long before the study was half finished. Dr. Witmer's evaluation was a rescue job, to save by way of by-products, what the direct experiment failed to show. So much honesty, so much good will, so much technical competence, such abundant resources, such talent, and in the end, so little to show for it!

PHILIP KLEIN
Professor of Social Research
New York School of Social Work
Columbia University

FIGHT AGAINST FEARS, by Lucy Freeman. Crown. $3

LUCY FREEMAN, NEWS REPORTER FOR *The New York Times*, has done for psychoanalysis something like what Thomas Merton did in the "Seven Story Mountain" for the Roman Catholic Church. "Fight Against Fears" contains an understanding introduction by Dr. George S. Stevenson, medical director of the National Association for Mental Hygiene.

The author begins by telling how she shopped from one doctor to another because of sleeplessness, headaches, and sinus trouble, with little or no relief, and in desperation tried analysis, against much conflicting advice. In a light and entertaining way she describes her early fears and some of her experience in analysis. While she discusses the analytic work with her doctor and her reactions as she becomes aware of certain underlying emotions, such as fear and hate, a great deal of the book is purely autobiographical in the usual sense. The material swings back and forth between the conscious and the unconscious events which influenced her childhood, college, job, marriage, divorce, and readjustment. The book must have been written during the analysis, as she says in the beginning the writing covered a three-year period and later says the analysis has gone on for four or five years.

She is careful to say that she writes parts of what she remembers and may not always have quoted correctly. Some might quibble over the statement that

one must like his analyst or else he is wasting his money, as many people are helped who have worked through a stage of great hostility toward their doctor. Again, the fact that she married during her therapy was somewhat unusual as frequently people are requested to wait until the therapy is over before they make final decisions.

Miss Freeman feels that analysis helped her; and many of her friends, even those who were critical, noted beneficial change. She indicates, however, that it is not only the time in analysis but the best part of one's life that is needed to overcome some of the frustrations and difficulties of early life. She feels that it was not words and understanding of herself that she gained in analysis that helped her, but "slowly acquiring the feeling that someone believed in me and wanted me to believe in myself." Again, "I was able to give up anxiety only as I learned to trust, only as I could forsake the pleasure of the moment, for anxiety was the easy way of coping with fear, reason the more difficult."

The lack of technical terms and the very appealing way in which she has given many analytic concepts in everyday language make the book particularly valuable for lay people. It is as readable as a novel and yet at the same time instructive.

There are many entertaining little anecdotes describing her interactions with the analyst, her friends, relatives, and so on. It is a book that will be read by many for the pure entertainment of the story. Those interested in psychiatry, social work, and psychology will read it for the story and the personality study contained in it, and also, in their imagination noting the unwritten material which the writer freely indicates in the beginning of the book.

Many will wonder why Lucy Freeman gave this detailed history of herself, in reality the autobiography of her conscious and unconscious life. But what-

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ever her reason for writing, many will be glad that she did.

A. Louise Brush, M.D.
New York City

THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS, by Jerry Voorhis. Association Press. $1.75

Jerry Voorhis has written a very interesting and stimulating book based on his decade or more of political experience in southern California and Washington. "Shall I Run?" "How Do I Win?" "The Pitfall." These are all good reading for Christians about the practical problems of getting elected and staying in office when you have solid religious convictions about moral and ethical standards.

Equally important—in fact to my mind much more important for Christians—is the account of how a Christian faced the necessary compromises of the national legislature. It is high time Christians stopped thinking of all compromise as evil, and recognized the needs for solid Christian tests of good and bad compromises. Good compromise based on sound humility and respect for others' opinions is the basis of our Anglo-Saxon democracy. Good Christians too, may have to choose, as did Congressman Voorhis, the lesser of two evils, and they will hope to be able, like him, to look back on those choices, and feel that all but a few were right.

But on several other of his theses Jerry Voorhis is not so close to reality.

"If only we were all Christians . . ." But we are not, and it is part of Christian teaching that we are not. Even if more Christians were in American politics, we would still have the Soviets.

Jerry seems to know little of administration and the executive branch. Congress is certainly important, but the problem of making two million federal employes effective is a lot tougher. Neither is it just a question of getting more good people into government at the bottom, as he implies. There are plenty of good people, even including those suggested by congressmen. The main problem is the frustration of the competent ones under untrained supervision, and even worse, failure of coordination right up to the top.

The author talks about participation by the bulk of the people in their government, and about power separated from the people. But how can 150,000,000 people participate at Washington? That is the heart of our problem. Are the motives and ability of the ordinary government executive much better than of the ordinary business executive today? or co-op executive? or labor executive?

This blind spot leads him to the ardent backing of world federation, which can only make this problem worse. Certainly there needs to be greater international coordination, but the only successful world enterprise in that field is the British Commonwealth, which is surely not a federation.

The economic side of the book expresses at least little understanding of the problem of the business cycle (unemployment or inflation), and for all his avowal of fears of the Great State, it demonstrates a complete confidence in government intervention. The references to the motives of big businessmen as compared to small business, labor, and co-ops are just speeches, not reality.

I am certainly for Christians in politics, but the final key chapter, setting up "God's Intended Use" as the test for judgment, leaves one Christian unaided in solving political problems that face him.

Charles P. Taft
Attorney at Law, Cincinnati

U.S.A. THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION, by the Editors of *Fortune*, with the collaboration of Russell W. Davenport. Prentice-Hall. $3.75

This is an eloquent and stirring volume. Its total impact is one of widened horizons, provocative insights, suggestive hints toward program. It is as American as ham-and-eggs, yet American in a lofty, traditional albeit prophetic way. If what it means and implies could enter the consciousness of all to whom The Voice of America is beamed, the cold war would be well on the way to being won.

For the authors have in an exhilarating way caught up the threads of what our nation basically stands for, of how this miracle or revolution came to be, and of what its promise is in terms of the possible quality of the good life for each individual in a democratic society.

The book is in three parts—the first, explanatory of "the American proposition," which is interpreted on a high albeit reasonable level of spiritual (beyond material) values; the second, interpretative of our economic, political, and social scene in the light of our roots and aspirations; and the third, even more specific discussions of our domestic and foreign policies and the degree to which they may be helping us advance the permanent revolution as embodied in the way of life of our land.

There is no super-patriotism here;

(Continued on page 502)

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR to head institution for emotionally disturbed children; also doing adoption work. Specialized experience in administration, fund-raising and public relations desirable; also working knowledge of modern casework methods. Write to President, Children's Home Society of West Virginia, Box 1588, Charleston, West Virginia.

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CASEWORKER. We have place for mature person who has experience in home finding and who likes to work with growing children. Must have at least one year graduate work. Social Security and John Hancock plans. Write—Nebraska Children's Home Society, 3549 Fontenelle Boulevard, Omaha, Nebraska.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR. Immediate opening for trained female worker. Salary dependent on qualifications. Norwegian Lutheran Children's Home, 6000 N. Canfield Avenue, Chicago 31, Illinois.

SUPERVISOR—Case Work for agency with supervised foster home and residential institution for children. Requires full professional training and supervisory experience in child welfare. Salary commensurate with experience from $4,000.00. National Health and Welfare Retirement—Social Security Child Welfare League Membership. Write: Hillside Children's Center, 1183 Monroe Avenue, Rochester 20, New York.

WANTED—children's worker—partially or fully trained, experience desirable. Good salary standards. Jewish Family and Children's Bureau, 319 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland.

GROUP WORKERS: Women: Head and assistant Girls' Work Department in established Methodist Settlement, open immediately. Rooms in staff apartment provided, plus $2200-$2500. Training and experience required of department head—preferred also for assistant. Camp experience helpful. Write: Pauline Kinsinger, Wesley Community House, 801 E. Washington Street, Louisville, Kentucky.

FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, opening Reno. Integrated field service. Salary $4260-$4980. Write Nevada State Welfare Department, Box 1331, Reno, Nevada.

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CASEWORKERS: A live, progressive family agency, with excellent personnel standards, and good supervision, needs two workers to help make this community a better place. Beginning salary $3600. M.S.W. required. Write Herbert I. Kenny, Family Service, 715 Post Bldg., Battle Creek, Michigan.

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(continued on next page)

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Letters & Life

from page 500

there is the most forthright and penetrating criticism. And, interestingly, its source is a national journal which in the popular view is "servicing" the *status quo* of big business. But that here is a record of some of the "big" thinking that is going on today, within and outside the economic bulwarks of business seems to me the book's most noteworthy revelation. It is in one sense "advance guard," but the echoes of what Mr. Davenport is advocating are caught in the utterances of other prominent business leaders of our day, which find the stereotypes of the "American way of life," of "free enterprise," "monopoly capitalism" or "free competition"—all inadequate as characterizing the increasingly collaborative process which daily becomes more prevalent in our highly productive economy.

All of this volume may not have equal penetration; and some will disagree at one point or another with the diagnosis or the prescriptions. But this is unimportant. A frame of reference has been convincingly established and men of goodwill in all camps can join minds and hands and go forward with constructive planning and programing.

This book should be especially useful at the college level in the many courses on "American civilization."

ORDWAY TEAD
Chairman, Board of Higher Education
New York City

THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, by Wilson Record. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50

THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE MADE strenuous and persistent efforts to increase the Negro membership in the Party is well known to everyone who does not depend solely on the Hearst or McCormick papers for information. The measure of success that has rewarded their efforts is less widely known. Mr. Record has made an exhaustive study of the subject. The total result of his research is what any fairly intelligent Negro could have told him before he started. Negro membership in the Party has been negligible—it is close to zero; and if the Negro masses are less sympathetic to any other Party it must be the Dixiecrats.

From Mr. Record's record (it's inconvenient that he is not named Smith) it is obvious that the Reds failed to win a substantial following among Negroes for two conspicuous reasons. First, because home-bred Communists too loyally followed unrealistic mandates of the Cominform; second, because American Reds are mavericks who have never understood what makes normal white or black Americans tick.

Mr. Record's book, however, is by no means a work of supererogation. While it is true that most intelligent Negroes already know what he has learned only after prodigal burning of midnight oil, their knowledge is rarely supported by statistical proof. The author has provided them the proof they need.

He tells the whole story of Communist activities along the color line in a year-by-year, almost a day-by-day, chronicle. It is a carefully documented narrative that sticks meticulously to facts, practically always naming places and dates. The author makes no attempt to dramatize his material or to season it with human interest, with the result that the volume is almost as soporific as Communist oratory. Mr. Record may reply, of course, that his intention was not to amuse, but to inform. In that, he has certainly succeeded. It is hardly possible that a more complete file of the Party's few successes and many failures in its efforts to convert Negroes to Marxism exists anywhere else except in the minutes of Party conclaves. "The Negro and the Communist Party" is a magnificent bookkeeping job.

At times, the author seems as unfamiliar with intramural Negro ideas and values as Communists certainly are. Commenting on the failure of the Reds to attempt an infiltration into the smaller units of the Negro church, he says "The Communist Party failed to appreciate the focal role of the store-front church in Harlem and Brownsville." Mr. Record seems to be unaware that the store-front church has practically no influence on Negro thought, and consequently is of little value to the Reds. Again, when he describes the activities of the Reds in the depression years, he says: "The depression led to an almost fatal crisis in the Negro middle class." Actually, the Negro middle class, for reasons too numerous to mention here, probably suffered less than any other group during the depression.

Such microscopic inaccuracies, however, do not impair the value of Mr. Record's timely and purposeful work.

GUICHARD PARRIS
Director, promotion and publicity
National Urban League

(Movie Column on page 504)

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Opening in colorful resort city for caseworker with Master's Degree in social work. Excellent personnel practices. Salary range, $3000-$4000. Salary dependent upon experience. Write Margaret Thomason, Executive Director, Travelers Aid Society, 127 N.W. 2nd St., Miami, Florida.

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CASEWORKER: graduate accredited school of social work wanted for teen age boys in redirectional institution. Regular psychiatric and psychological services; case assignments reasonable and challenging; salary commensurate with experience and prevailing professional standards. Write Joan Staudt, Starr Commonwealth for Boys, Albion, Michigan.

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FULBRIGHT TEACHING APPOINTEE just returned from year's assignment overseas. Available for employment; M.S.W. degree; medical social work major. 9208 Survey.

MALE P.S.W., married, two children, returning to United States Jan. 15th after fifteen months work in Britain, seeks P.S.W., public welfare or research post in East. Write to 9210 Survey.

(In answering advertisements please mention THE SURVEY*)*

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Films About Getting Well

GEORGE C. STONEY

THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION'S DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY has produced in the past three years nearly half a hundred films.* While all are somewhat technical, designed for training either professional personnel or the patients themselves, several have been put together with such skill and sensitiveness that they are well worth the attention of a much wider audience.

Social workers and others who are involved in solving social and economic problems that stem from the medical conditions dealt with in these filmed case histories will find them of particular interest.

Seizure

This film, "Seizure: The Medical Treatment and Social Problems of Epilepsy," is the story of a failure. The patient had "outgrown" a tendency to *petit mal* seizures in childhood only to have his malady manifest itself in more serious form following battle experience. He returns to a VA hospital a few months after he had been dismissed as fit for employment. A flashback, showing the nature of his case and the treatment he received, teaches a great deal about epilepsy, its many causes and degrees of seriousness, and the methods of treatment. What begins as a single case history becomes an informative presentation in very human terms of a condition which in some measure affects the lives of millions.

The tragic ending of the film is foreshadowed as its hero, with others in his ward, begins to plan for the time when they will leave the hospital. What happens to cause his relapse is pictured with restraint.

"Seizure," directed by Nicholas Webster, was awarded first prize at the recent International Film Festival in Venice, and the VA is planning to edit a version suitable for television. But the original fills its 45 minutes of screen time with so much of interest that this longer version seems equally suitable for general showing.

Journey Back

Most of the 20 minutes of this film about "Edward Lundquist, Hemiplegic," show how the patient's progress toward recovery, his relapse, and his ultimate success depend upon the understanding and help of his wife. The role of the social worker as a member of the group of experts guiding his progress is particularly well portrayed. The director, Dan Milner, has so handled his subject as to replace the audience's feeling of simple pity with one of admiration for the patient's achievement. Lundquist, an actual patient, is appealingly "average." Many of the difficulties he faces are common to so many paralytics that his example should prove useful for patients and families of patients suffering from many kindred afflictions.

Activity for Schizophrenia

A presentation, subtitled "Corrective Therapy Technique," which is particularly welcome in these times, when every mental ailment portrayed on the screen seems to be curable only by shock therapy or the sympathetic ear of a psychiatrist. In this case, many other techniques are employed as well. Much attention is given to occupational and physical therapy and throughout the film's 30 minutes we are never allowed to forget that the patients' permanent well-being depends upon "home and a job." Once again, Dan Milner, as director, enables us to feel the tremendous effort his character is making and thus to watch with sympathy and admiration a man we might otherwise wish to avoid.

You Can Hear Again

Less successful dramatically than "Seizure" this well may be of more general use. It pictures in 20 minutes how a patient going deaf suffers from his refusal to recognize his affliction, and the attitudes in others that make this difficult for him. It outlines the methods used in diagnosing his trouble, and as our hero learns lip reading and takes training that will sharpen his powers of oral and visual perception, we come to understand why buying a proper hearing aid is not so simple as being fitted with spectacles.

Living with Limitations

We see these veterans, one with arthritis, one with a heart condition, and one with a disabled knee, brought back to physical, emotional, and mental health.

Stressing physical and mental rehabilitation, this film is an example of the several VA films, quite technical in nature, now being used successfully for patient training.

Social Service Interviewing

It is a disappointment to find the two VA productions dealing explicitly with the medical social worker below the standard set by Milner and Webster. Films in this field are so rare, however, that these 10-minute reels may prove useful as examples for study. One deals with a psychiatric patient and a second shows work with a patient who is unable to face surgery.

* The full list of VA productions may be obtained from the Information Division, Veterans Administration, Washington, D. C.

These films were made by the Department of Agriculture's film unit. They can be borrowed for the cost of the postage by addressing the Central Film Library, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Most VA films are reserved for specialized audiences, so all requests should be accompanied by a brief description of the purpose of the showing and the nature of the expected audience. All the films may be purchased without restriction from Castle Films, 1445 Park Avenue, New York City, for the actual cost of printing plus a small handling charge.

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PAUL U. KELLOGG (signature of editor.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1951.

MARY F. PIDGEON, Notary Public, State of New York. No. 30-3098025. Qualified in Nassau County. Cert. filed with N. Y. Co. Clerk's Office. Commission Expires March 30, 1953.

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CEREBRAL PALSY INSTITUTE AND THREE MONTH POST-GRADUATE COURSE

NEWS RELEASE

CEREBRAL PALSY INSTITUTE:

The Coordinating Council for Cerebral Palsy in New York City, Inc. will again sponsor this year a two week Cerebral Palsy Institute, to be given from *January 21 through February 1, 1952*. Tuition for the course will be $25. Qualified physicians, physical, occupational, and speech therapists, nurses, social service, rehabilitation and guidance workers, teachers, and psychologists are eligible. The Intitute will include seminars, field trips, clinical demonstrations, and lectures.

This year, emphasis will be placed upon the medical, socio-psychological aspects of mental subnormalities of the cerebral palsied and on recent contributions of psychometrics to this field.

THREE MONTH POST-GRADUATE COURSE:

Following the Institute, and starting on *February 4, 1952*, the Coordinating Council for Cerebral Palsy in New York City, Inc., in cooperation with the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, will offer *a three month post-graduate cerebral palsy course for qualified physicians, occupational, and physical therapists.*

Didactic lectures on the medical and socio-psychological aspects, together with multi-professional seminars, will be given once a week. Four full days a week will be spent, on a rotating internship basis, in the various diagnostic and treatment clinics in and about Greater New York.

A professional statement of completion will be granted by Columbia University upon satisfactory completion of the three month course.

Tuition for the three month course is $250., *and may include, if desired, the Institute.*

NOTE: A limited number of scholarships are available.

Full information and application blanks can be obtained from Miss Marguerite Abbott, Executive Director, The Coordinating Council for Cerebral Palsy in New York City, Inc., 270 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

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